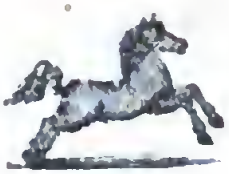
THE MONUMENTAL HISTORY OF EGYPT.

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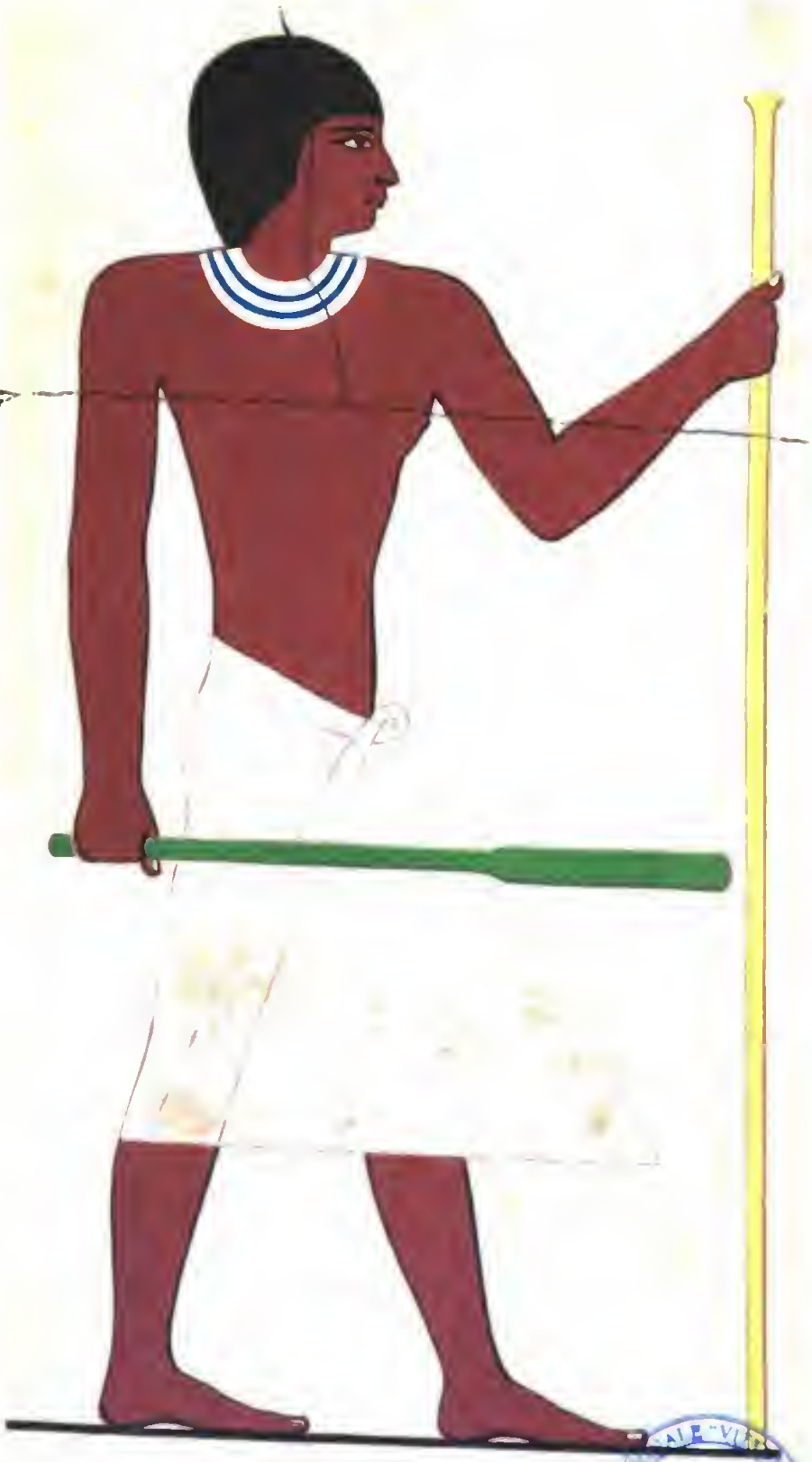
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THE

MONUMENTAL HISTORY

OF

EGYPT,

AS RECORDED ON

THE RUINS OF HER TEMPLES, PALACES, AND TOMBS.

BY WILLIAM OSBURN, R.S.L.,

AUTHOR OF "THE ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT," "ANCIENT EGYPT, HER TESTIMONY TO THE TRUTH," ETC.

VOL. I.

From the first Colonization of the Valley to the Visit of the Patriarch Abram.

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BATH: PRINTED BY BINNS AND GOODWIN.

TO

Aubrey John Dean Paul, Esquire,

IN REMEMBRANCE OF

MANY HAPPY HOURS SPENT TOGETHER ON THE NILE,

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

In the course of the following pages, I endeavour punctually to note my obligations to the labours of all other students of the antiquities of Egypt. To the invaluable collections of the Greek authorities, by the Chevalier Bunsen, and to the accurate copies of the monuments, taken by Dr. Lepsius, I am largely indebted. I cannot make the acknowledgment too fully. The publications, and still more the friendly intercourses, of Samuel Birch of the British Museum, have likewise often and most efficaciously assisted my researches. But the arrangement of the present history, and the reasonings upon which it is founded, are my own. I am anxious to relieve my fellow-labourers and friends from the responsibility of my opinions.

W. Osburn.

Guernsey, April 26, 1854.

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THE MONUMENTAL HISTORY OF EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.—THE NILE.—THE CAUSE OF THE FERTILITY OF EGYPT.—GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF EGYPT.—THE DEBOUCHURE OF THE NILE.—THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS OF EGYPT.—THE ANNUAL OVERFLOW OF THE NILE.—THE EGYPTIAN ABORIGINES.—COLONIZATION BY THE GREEKS.—INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—MOHAMMEDANISM.—PRESENT INHABITANTS.—THEIR LANGUAGE.—THE COPTIC ALPHABET.—COPTIC, THE LANGUAGE OF ANCIENT EGYPT.—ABRAM'S FIRST JOURNEY INTO EGYPT.—LONG CONTINUED INTERCOURSE OF ABRAM'S DESCENDANTS WITH EGYPT.

Egypt is the anomaly of the earth's present surface. The adaptations and adjustments of the air and of the solar distance, whereby the energies of vegetable life are called forth in other countries, give place here to another code of natural laws, framed expressly for the valley of the Nile. The atmospheric changes of other lands, whether they be the mild gradations of temperate climates, or the fierce convulsions of the tropics, are alike unknown in Egypt. The intensely vivid blue of the sky of Egypt is scarcely ever overclouded. From

the moment that he surmounts the white and bleached rocks of the eastern desert, to that when he descends behind the parched sands of the Sahara, the sun pours down all his fervors on the land of Egypt, unveiled by cloud, or speck, or stain, and throughout the whole year. Rain is all but unknown at Cairo; it is a fearful portent, occurring only after intervals of many years, in Upper Egypt.

The wonderful phenomenon of the annual overflow of the Nile excited the astonishment and religious awe of the ancient travellers who visited Egypt. The far wider acquaintance with the countries and climates to the southward of Egypt, which the cumulative knowledge of two thousand years confers upon us, though it gives us, in the tropical rains and in corresponding floods in other tropical rivers, some key to this mystery, by no means entirely dispels it; and the traveller even in this day, who from the rocks of Philæ gazes upon the broad and turbid tide of the inundation, as it foams and thunders down the rapids that there encumber the bed of the river, is overwhelmed with astonishment. He feels the hot sand-wind parching and blistering his white skin; his eye glances at the utter sterility that everywhere, save in the close vicinity of the river, meets his eye; his mind grasps for a moment the vast tracts of desert that surround him on all sides, and he finds relief in the exclamation with which the poor Arab that attends him gives utterance to his own sense of the same phenomenon, "*Mashallah.*" "Wonder of God."

The most ancient traveller that ever visited Egypt and left the record of what he saw there, has condensed

his own impressions of this land of wonders in the terse definition "Egypt is the gift of the Nile."* We believe that in no other words can the peculiarities of this land be so exactly described. Egypt is the narrow strip which the world of waters of a huge tropical river, diffusing themselves and diffused by man's labour to the widest possible extent, can reclaim to productiveness from the sands of the African desert. Scarcely have the waters of the *Bahr-el-abiad*, or White Nile, which comes from the very heart of Africa to the westward, become confluent with those of the *Bahr-el-azrek*, or Blue Nile, which rushes from the mountains of Abyssinia eastward, when the northern progress of their united torrent is opposed by the sands and rocks of the great Sahara, and along a devious course of more than two thousand miles the Nile flows on, receiving no single tributary into its bosom, until it reaches the Mediterranean. Thus does this noble river diffuse fertility, and happiness, and life over vast tracts of country, always expending its waters, never receiving a single drop of accession to them from the heaven above or from the earth beneath; so that when it reaches Cairo and the head of the Delta, the bulk and volume of its tide is scarcely one half of that which roars among the rocks of Djebel Silsili, and foams through the cataracts of Assouan.

That the fertility of Egypt is dependent altogether upon the Nile, is a truth so patent and so palpable, that there is no understanding so grovelling, no intellect so debased, among the sons of men, that he

* Herod. lib. ii. cap. v.

cannot perceive it. The sun writes it with his fierce beams upon the bleached rocks and arid sands of the surrounding desert. It is heard in the voice of the sand-wind, as, full-charged with burning dust, it rushes down the gullies of the mountains of Upper Egypt, and in the course of a very few minutes buries the feeble efforts of man to awaken to life and greenness a few spans of surface, deep beneath the hot sand-drift. The very laws of nature, or, to speak more truly with the modern Egyptians, the laws of God, proclaim it. Turn the course of the Nile, and not one blade of vegetation would ever arise in Egypt. The whole land would instantly relapse into the utter sterility of the western desert, whence that noble river with so fierce and painful a struggle reclaims it. In a word, Egypt is the Nile, and the Nile is Egypt.

The natural phenomena of this land of wonders furnish fruitful themes for contemplation and thought. The remembrance of the days we have passed there is very sweet.

Occupying precisely the extreme southern limit of the north temperate zone, the latitude of Egypt is that which on both sides of the Equator will be found far drier than any other portion of the earth's surface. The two perfectly distinct economies whereby the rains of the temperate and torrid zones are administered, find no place here; and it is only the presence of very high mountains, like the Himalayas in Asia, and the Andes in South America; or the waters of some vast river, like the Mississippi of North America, or the Nile of Egypt, that can rescue land so situated from sterility. The

barrenness which thus marks out all lands in these latitudes is rendered far more conspicuous in Egypt by the circumstance of its being situated in the midst of the two great desert tracts of the world. The drifting sands of the Sahara stretch away westward from the Nile for more than four thousand miles to the Atlantic. To the eastward, the barren mountains of the Sinaitic peninsula and of Arabia Petræa, and the salt sand-plains of Persia, extend in a direct line for more than three thousand miles. It is to this, its perfectly peculiar topography, that Egypt is indebted for the extreme aridity which distinguishes it from all other inhabited countries in the world, and for that total absence of rain which is the proximate cause of it.

The topography of Egypt is remarkably simple. The Nile debouches into the Mediterranean by two great mouths or branches. The ancients wrote of five, seven, and occasionally, of innumerable mouths of the Nile, but the very accurate definitions of Strabo* leave us plainly to infer that the debouchure of the Nile in ancient times did not materially differ from that by which its waters reach the Mediterranean at the present day. There were two great and principal branches which threw off many smaller channels or canals. The westernmost of these two great branches was called in ancient times the Bolbatine branch. Its modern name is El-Rashi, which is that of the sea-port at its termination, the Rosetta of the Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean sailors. The present eastern mouth of the Nile is the Phathmetic branch of the

* Lib. xvii. p. 418.

ancient geographers. Its modern name is Tamiati, the Damietta of navigation, which is likewise the name of the sea-port situated upon it. The distance between Rosetta and Damietta is about a hundred miles. About the same distance in a right line is interposed between the coast of the Mediterranean and the point where these two great branches of the Nile first separate. The tract of country enclosed by them, and the districts irrigated by their waters, on their left and right banks respectively, were included by the Greek geographers in the same great division of Egypt, which they named the Delta, from its resemblance in form to that letter of their alphabet, Δ. Its name in modern geography is LOWER EGYPT. This portion of Egypt is intersected everywhere with canals, some of them terminating in the sea, others again uniting the two branches of the Nile. By their agency an amount of fertility is communicated to the Delta, certainly not surpassed, we believe scarcely equalled, by that of any other portion of the earth's surface, yet hemmed in on all sides by the shifting sands of the most sterile desert on the earth. This is one of the wonders of Egypt.

The desert that bounds the Delta both eastward and westward is a rocky platform encumbered everywhere with sand-drifts; but scarcely is the traveller afloat on the broad bosom of the Nile when the outlines of distant mountains appear in both directions, and he soon discerns that one to the westward is crowned with pyramids.

The part of the valley of the Nile immediately to the south of the crown or head of the Delta, is the

northern limit of the second great division of Egypt, according to the Greek geographers and tax-gatherers. This section of the monarchy was called by them the Heptanomis, because it consisted of seven nomes or provinces. Its name in modern geography is MIDDLE EGYPT. It extends southward as far as the heap of ruins called *El Arabah* by the Arabs, the remains of the ancient city of Abydos, which is about two hundred and fifty miles from the head or crown of the Delta. In this portion of the valley, the Nile runs everywhere between two ranges of steep and barren cliffs or mountains. Its course is undeviatingly from south to north, with an exactitude which I never saw in any other river, and which I am told is without a parallel in the world. For many days together we saw the blue waters of the Nile stretching away to the horizon both northward and southward like a sea. On the western bank of the river, there is a break in the mountain chain, and a flat and most fertile valley extends westward for nearly fifty miles, in the midst of which is a large lake of brackish water called the Birket-Keroun. The principal supply of the waters of the Nile to this portion of the land of Egypt is from the well-known canal named after a Fatimite Caliph, *Bahr-yussuf*. This noble canal leaves the Nile at Derut Shereef about a hundred miles to the southward. The name of this most fertile district is the Faium. In the production of fruits it surpasses even the Delta. Both this singular valley and the canal which fertilizes it, will demand our attention in the course of the inquiry before us.

UPPER EGYPT, which is the third and last division

of the monarchy according to the Greeks, extends from the nome of Abydos to what the Greeks called "the cataracts of Syene," or what we are in the habit of naming, in a phraseology at once more modern and more correct, "the rapids of Assouan." The mountains that hem in the valley of Upper Egypt are generally loftier than in the Heptanomis and also recede further from the river, leaving plains of intense fertility and of some miles in breadth, on one or both banks. This is especially the case at Dendera, Gournou, Erments, and some other localities. The advance of the traveller southward is indicated in Upper Egypt by the presence of the Doum-palm, and by the cultivation of sugar, rice, and other tropical productions.

This very rapid sketch may probably suffice, with the aid of the accompanying map, to possess the reader with some accurate notion of Egypt and of its triple geographical division.

The presence of the Nile and its phenomena being, as we have found, the condition upon which the habitability of Egypt altogether depends, some precise knowledge regarding them is in like manner indispensable at the threshold of our design. The European traveller arriving in Egypt about the winter solstice, would find the Nile, even in the Bolbatine branch and at the head of the Delta, a magnificent expanse of tolerably clear water, with the blue tinge which also distinguishes the waters of the Rhone as they issue from the Lake of Geneva. The river has just subsided within its banks, and the effects of the inundation exhibit themselves in a scene of fertility and beauty

such as will scarcely be found in another country at any season of the year. The vivid green of the springing corn; the groves of pomegranate trees, ablaze with the rich scarlet of their blossoms; the fresh breeze laden with the perfumes of gardens of roses and orange thickets; every tree and every shrub covered with sweet-scented flowers: these are a few of the natural beauties that welcome the stranger to the land of Ham. There is considerable sameness in them, it is true, for he would observe little variety in the trees and plants, whether he first entered Egypt by the gardens of Alexandria or the plain of Assouan. Yet is it the same everywhere, only because it would be impossible to make any addition to the sweetness of the odours, the brilliancy of the colors, or the exquisite beauty of the many forms of vegetable life, in the midst of which he wanders. It is monotonous, but it is the monotony of Paradise.

The most perfect contrast to the scene we have described, which the natural laws that govern the earth are capable of producing, is presented to the traveller who arrives in Egypt about the time of the summer solstice. The Nile has shrunk within its banks until its stream is contracted to half its ordinary dimensions, and its turbid, slimy, stagnant waters scarcely seem to flow in any direction. Broad flats or steep banks of black, sun-baked, cracked Nile mud, form both the shores of the river. All beyond them is sand and sterility, for the Hamseen, or sand-wind of fifty days' duration, has scarcely yet ceased to blow. The trunks and branches of trees may be seen here and there through the dusty,

hazy, burning, atmosphere, but so entirely are their leaves coated with dust, that at a distance they are not distinguishable from the desert-sand that surrounds them. It is only by the most painful and laborious operation of watering that any tint approximating to greenness can be preserved at this season even in the pleasure-gardens of the Pacha. The first symptom of the termination of this most terrible season, is the rising of the north wind (the Etesian wind of the Greeks), blowing briskly, often fiercely, during the whole of the day. The foliage of the groves that cover Lower Egypt is soon disencumbered by it of the dust, and resumes its verdure. The fierce fervors of the sun, then at his highest ascension, are also most seasonably mitigated by the same powerful agency, which prevails for this and the three following months throughout the entire land of Egypt.

A change is soon perceptible in the waters of the Nile. The rise of an inch or two is reported from the Nilometer at Cairo, and the waters themselves have lost the little of clearness and freshness which just before had still recommended them as a delicious draught. They have acquired the green, slimy, lustreless hue of brackish water between the tropics, and no filter that has yet been discovered can separate them from the nauseous unwholesome admixture which occasions this change.

The phenomenon of the GREEN NILE is said to be occasioned by the vast lakes of stagnant water left by the annual overflow on the broad sand-flats of Darfoor to the south of Nubia, over which the Nile

meanders a most devious course immediately on entering the Sahara. These, after having stagnated in the tropical sun for more than six months, are carried forward by the new inundation and once more thrown into the bed of the river. Happily, the continuance of this state of the water seldom exceeds three or four days. The sufferings of those who are compelled to drink it in this state, from vesicary disease, even in this short interval, are very severe. The inhabitants of the cities generally provide against it by Nile-water stored in reservoirs and tanks.

The increase of the volume of the river now advances rapidly, and its waters gradually become more turbid. Ten or twelve days, however, elapse before the development of the last and most extraordinary of all the appearances of the Nile. We will endeavour to give our own first impressions of it. It was at the end of, to my own sensations, a long and very sultry night, that I raised myself from the sofa upon which I had in vain been endeavouring to sleep, on the deck of a Nile boat, that lay becalmed off Benisoueff, a town of Middle Egypt. The sun was just showing the upper limb of his disc over the eastern mountains. I was surprised to see that when his rays fell upon the water, a deep ruddy reflection was given back. The depth of the tint increased continually as a larger portion of his light fell upon the water, and before he had entirely cleared the top of the hill it presented the perfect appearance of a river of blood. Suspecting some delusion, I rose up hastily, and looking over the side of the boat, saw there the confirmation of my first

impression. The entire body of water was opaque and of a deep red color, bearing a closer resemblance to blood than to any other natural production to which it could be compared. I now perceived that during the night the river had visibly risen several inches. While I was gazing at this great sight, the Arabs came round me to explain that it was the RED NILE. The redness and opacity of the water, in this extraordinary condition of the river, are subject to constant variations. On some days, when the rise of the river has not exceeded an inch or two, its waters return to a state of semi-transparency, though during the entire period of the high Nile they never lose the deep red tinge which cannot be separated from them. It is not, however, like the green admixture, at all deleterious; the Nile water is never more wholesome or more deliciously refreshing than during the overflow. There are other days when the rise of the river is much more rapid, and then the quantity of mud that is suspended in the water exceeds, in Upper Egypt, that which I have seen in any other river. On more than one occasion I could perceive that it visibly interfered with the flow of the stream. A glass-full of it in this state was allowed to remain still for a short time. The upper portion of it was perfectly opaque and the color of blood. A sediment of black mud occupied about one quarter of the glass. A considerable portion of this is deposited before the river reaches Middle and Lower Egypt. I never observed the Nile water in this condition there.

Perhaps there is not in nature a more exhilarating

sight, or one more strongly exciting to confidence in God, than the rise of the Nile. Day by day and night by night, its turbid tide sweeps onward majestically over the parched sands of the waste howling wilderness. Almost hourly, as we slowly ascended it before the Etesian wind, we heard the thundering fall of some mud-bank, and saw by the rush of all animated nature to the spot, that the Nile had overleaped another obstruction, and that its bounding waters were diffusing life and joy through another desert. There are few impressions I ever received, upon the remembrance of which I dwell with more pleasure, than that of seeing the first burst of the Nile into one of the great channels of its annual overflow. All nature shouts for joy. The men, the children, the buffaloes, gambol in its refreshing waters, the broad waves sparkle with shoals of fish, and fowl of every wing flutter over them in clouds. Nor is this jubilee of nature confined to the higher orders of creation. The moment the sand becomes moistened by the approach of the fertilizing waters, it is literally alive with insects innumerable. It is impossible to stand by the side of one of these noble streams, to see it every moment sweeping away some obstruction to its majestic course and widening as it flows, without feeling the heart expand with to, love and joy and confidence in the great Author of this annual miracle of mercy.

The overflow reaches Memphis, in Middle Egypt, or Cairo, which is a little to the north of it on the opposite bank, on a day closely approximating to that of the summer solstice. The inundation attains its

height, and begins decidedly to decline, on a day approximating as nearly to that of our autumnal equinox. About our winter solstice the Nile has again subsided within its banks and resumed the clear blue sparkle of its waves. The seed-time of Egypt has taken place during this interval, and terminates with the overflow. The spring which we have already described is immediately succeeded by the harvest, which is generally cleared away before the setting in of the hamseen or sand-wind. So that the year in Egypt naturally divides itself into three seasons—four months of sowing and growth, corresponding proximately with our November, December, January, and February; four months of harvest which, in like manner, may be vaguely marked in our calendar by the months from March to June inclusive; the four months or moons of the overflow complete the cycle of the Egyptian year. We shall soon see that this division of the year obtained in Egypt at the most remote period of which we have any record.

The history of the people that now inhabit the valley of the Nile, so far as it bears upon the matter in hand, may be soon narrated. When Egypt first made a great movement, nationally, in favour of Christianity, which, in the absence of all precise information, we assume, on the ground of many probabilities, to have taken place somewhat early in the second century, she had been for more than four hundred years without a native king. Her institutions, civil and religious, had undergone all manner of modification from foreign admixture, and crowds of Greeks, both from Greece Proper and from

all the Greek colonies on the shores of the Euxine and Mediterranean seas, pressed into the marts on her seaboard, and filled the cities of the interior. Under these circumstances the same process took place in Egypt which occurs daily in our times in all countries similarly situated. The Aborigines had either greatly diminished, or altogether disappeared, before the immigrant population. This inevitable effect of a cause so powerful and so long acting as that of the Greek colonization of Egypt in the times of the Ptolemies and Roman emperors, has been strangely overlooked in the physiological speculations founded upon the comparison of the crania of mummies with those of the modern inhabitants of Egypt, which have recently occupied so much of the public attention. There cannot be a doubt that, when Christianity first became the religion of Egypt, the great bulk of its inhabitants were Greek or of Greek origin, but had adopted altogether the religion and language of their new country.

The history of the establishment of our religion in Egypt is that also of its first planting in all the other countries that formed the Roman Empire. A fierce struggle with the old superstition, a blood-bath of martyrdom, and then (the ascendency gained) civil broils of a still fiercer character among the professors of the new religion, formed the brief and sad epitome of the history of Christianity in Egypt.

That Egypt would be one of the first spoils of the fierce fanaticism of Mohammed and his followers, might have been inferred from its contiguity to the Arabian desert; and such was actually the case. In the year

six hundred and sixty-six Egypt fell before the sword of the Caliph Omar and his general Amrou, and to this day she is bowed to the earth with the Moslem yoke which they laid upon her neck and which has never been removed. These are all the facts of the modern history of Egypt which are needful for our purpose.

The present inhabitants of Egypt are soon enumerated. The great bulk of the people are Mohammedans, the descendants of the ancient inhabitants who had embraced the new faith, and of the Arabs of the adjacent desert. They speak a dialect of Arabic peculiar to Egypt, which is now also the vernacular of the country.

Another and more interesting portion of the present inhabitants of Egypt consists of the descendants of those who, throughout the cruel persecutions of the early Mohammedan rulers, remained faithful to the true religion. The Church first planted in Egypt still remains, burning yet not consumed. The members of it style themselves Copts, *i.e.*, "Egyptians;" their Church, "the Coptic Church;" and the language in which the Bible and the rest of their ecclesiastical books are written, "the Coptic language." That they really are the lineal descendants of the inhabitants of Egypt who first embraced Christianity, and that the language of their sacred books is really the Egyptian language, there never was the remotest ground for a doubt at any time, though a long and learned controversy was raised upon the point by the frivolous and ignorant pedantry of the scholarship of the last century.

The Copts have, in general, a decidedly Grecian cast of countenance and person. We do not state this point without having had very ample opportunities of verifying it. We have already endeavoured to account for the circumstance.

The Coptic language is written in Greek characters, with the addition of six other letters which represent sounds not used in Greek. These are taken from one of the modes of writing which prevailed among the ancient Egyptians. The alphabet stands thus :—

Form	Name.	Sound.	Form.	Name.	Sound.	Form.	Name.	Sound.	Form.	Name.	Sound.
Ⲁ	*alpha*	a	Ⲓ	*iota*	i	Ⲣ	*ro*	r	†Ⳁ	*shei*	sh
Ⲃ	*beta*	b	Ⲕ	*kappa*	k	Ⲥ	*symma*	s	†Ⳇ	*fei*	f
Ⲅ	*gamma*	g	Ⲗ	*lauda*	l	Ⲧ	*tau*	t	†Ⳉ	*hhei*	ʿh
Ⲇ	*delta*	d	Ⲙ	*mi*	m	Ⲩ	*hy*	u	†Ⳋ	*hori*	h
Ⲉ	*ei*	ĕ	Ⲛ	*ni*	n	Ⲫ	*phi*	f	†Ⳍ	*djandja*	ʿgjd
*Ⲍ	*zeta*	s, ds	*Ⲝ	*xi*	x	Ⲭ	*chi*	x	†Ⳏ	*skima*	g
Ⲏ	*heta*	ē	Ⲟ	*o*	ŏ	*Ⲯ	*psi*	ps	†	*tei*	ti
Ⲑ	*theta*	th, t	Ⲡ	*pi*	p	Ⲱ	*ō*	ō			

Of these, the characters marked with an asterisk are scarcely used except in the Greek words which have been transferred entire in the text, and which are somewhat numerous. The six marked thus † are from the demotic alphabet of Egypt. The amount of text in existence in this transcription of the old Egyptian language is considerable. It is also spoken occasionally by the Coptic priests, and the use of it vernacularly is said still to linger in some of the remoter villages of the Faium. Three distinctly-marked dialects occur in

the texts of the Coptic language:—1, the MEMPHITIC, or dialect of Middle Egypt; 2, the SAHIDIC, or language of Upper Egypt; and 3, the BASHMURIC, or dialect of the Delta. All the existing works in this ancient language are ecclesiastical. The high probability that it is the language of ancient Egypt, having now been proved demonstrably by the recovery of the mode of reading the still earlier transcriptions of it in hieroglyphic characters, we trust it will now at length receive from the learned of Europe the amount of critical attention that it still requires. Much has been done, it is true, but our Coptic grammars and lexicons are nevertheless far from complete, even in regard to the treasures of this ancient language now in Europe. In the remoter convents in Egypt, also, a great quantity of text of this language is known to exist. The collection and arrangement of the invaluable materials which are contained in these, should it ever be accomplished, will, in all probability, go far to complete the recovery of the written systems of the ancient Egyptians.

It is scarcely needful to explain, that having already recovered the phonetic values or sounds of the hieroglyphic characters, we find in the Coptic texts the import of the several words which these hieroglyphics combine to form. We also receive some assistance in the interpretation of the hieroglyphic groups from the Hebrew lexicon, but, of course, very trifling in comparison with the Coptic.

It remains for us to give briefly the reasons which so strongly recommend the history of Egypt, as recovered from her existing monuments, to the notice

and attention which it is the object of our present undertaking to invite to it.

That Egypt was the most ancient of nations, and that the civilization of mankind had been at very remote periods materially advanced by the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, are positions elementary to all that has been written by the Greek and Roman authors regarding this country. To give quotations from them is needless. They are well known, and now easily accessible to those who already take an interest in the subject. They are not likely to excite that interest in readers who are yet indifferent to it. We prefer laying before them the far stronger and more pregnant proof of this high antiquity which is afforded by the inspired narrative of the primitive history of mankind upon the earth.

The first event recorded in that narrative, which brings out clearly and distinctly the name and adventures of one man from the dim records of the first peopling of the earth by the descendants of Noah, is the call of Abram. It is evidently with this event that the certain history of mankind upon the earth commences. All before is so deeply buried in the bosom of past eternity, that even the light of revelation shining upon it only discloses to our view certain isolated facts, most precious because most true, but scarcely sufficient to serve for the elements of a continuous history. To the call of Abram, therefore, we naturally return, as to the first visible link in the chain which connects the race of men now upon the earth with that remote ancestry of theirs which dwelt upon

it when it had but newly come forth from the creative hand of God.

If we consider carefully the inspired narrative of this event, we shall find that, in the course of the first journey of exploration of the land of promise which Abram undertook at the Divine command, and which that narrative leaves us surely to infer could not have occupied any great length of time, he was compelled by a famine in the south of Canaan to cross the desert of Suez and go down into Egypt. Here he found a settled and ordered kingdom, differing in no single particular from that Egypt of which we have so many details in later portions of the same inspired narrative. PHARAOH (which was the common name of all the kings of Egypt up to the final destruction of the monarchy by Alexander the Great), sat upon the throne. His princes surrounded him, and already Egypt was in possession of that wealth and plenty for which, for so many subsequent ages of her ancient history, she was celebrated. There is no single expression in this only narrative of the primeval history of the earth, whence it could be inferred that any other nation whatever had at that time reached the same stage in advance of social existence.*

Thus began the intercourse of Abram with Egypt. The record of it forms likewise the commencement of man's present history. It is an action in the earliest event that immediately associates itself with the earthly destinies, or directly bears upon the social relations of

* Gen. xii. 10, *et seq.*

men now living. In this consists the first claim we have to advance for the history of Egypt upon the attention of the reader.

There is another and equally powerful claim which we derive from the same unerring and paramount authority. The intercourse with Egypt, which Abram began all but coevally with his first departure at the Divine command from Ur of the Chaldees, continued with his descendants throughout the whole period contained in the inspired history; ceasing only when the greatest of all the sons of Abram and of all the beings that ever walked the earth, entered the desert of Sinai from the eastern frontier of Egypt, a young child with his mother; but fulfilling thereby, nevertheless, a prophecy uttered long before, "Out of Egypt have I called my son." In the more than two thousand years which separates these two events, the history of the sons of Abram is always interwoven more or less closely with that of Egypt.

These are the claims of the history of Egypt upon the attention of the reader which appear to us so urgent and important, that it is needless to detain him with the advocacy of other and weaker demands on behalf of the same subject which might be drawn from sources of inferior authority.

CHAPTER II.

HIEROGLYPHICS AND THE MODE OF READING THEM.—HIERATIC AND DEMOTIC WRITING.—SPECIMEN OF A HIEROGLYPHIC PHRASE.—ANALYSIS OF HIEROGLYPHIC AND GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.—THE SYSTEM OF HOMOPHONS DISCOVERED BY CHAMPOLLION.—PHONETIC HIEROGLYPHICS.—HIEROGLYPHIC ALPHABET AND SYLLABARIUM.—CONSTRUCTION OF IT SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE HEBREW.—INITIAL PHONETICS.—EXAMPLES.—USES.—DETERMINATIVES.—DESCRIPTION OF THE PILLAR OF ROSETTA.—ANALYSIS AND TRANSLATION OF ITS HIEROGLYPHIC AND GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

THE writing in use among the ancient Egyptians, was called by the Greeks, *Hieroglyphics*, that is, sacred engravings or reliefs, because they saw the temples of Egypt covered with inscriptions in that writing, and because the scribes of it belonged to an order of the priesthood.

The history of Egypt which we are now about to lay before the reader, is derived in very great measure from the interpretation of these writings. The scattered notices in the Greek authors are only made intelligible and available as history by their help. It appears to us, therefore, quite indispensable to preface it with some account of these writings, of the recovery of the key to them, and of the mode of reading them.

The inscriptions that cover the monuments of ancient Egypt, differ in some remarkable particulars from all other known graphic systems.

Every character of which they are composed, is a picture representing some visible object. These pictures are not mere conventional hints or outlines, like the Mexican or the old Chinese characters, but imitations of nature, as exact as the artistic skill of the scribe could produce, or the rigid forms and rules of Egyptian art would allow. On all the great and important monuments of ancient Egypt, the hieroglyphics are elaborately finished with colours; on those of a less costly nature, such as papyrus, linen, &c., they are merely inscribed in outline; but on both the pictorial skill of the scribe was taxed to the utmost.

There were two cursive forms of writing hieroglyphics in use among the Egyptians. The one is called by Herodotus, the *hieratic* writing, from its being generally used by the priests. Many texts in this character are now extant. Its internal structure is identical with that of the hieroglyphics. The characters, however, are not pictures, but mere strokes and dashes of the pen, somewhat resembling the form of the hieroglyphics they represent, and executed far more easily and speedily. It is in a word the tachygraphy, or short-hand, of hieroglyphics. The other mode of writing hieroglyphics was called by the Greek authors, *demotic*, because it was in use among the people generally, and in the Greek inscriptions found in Egypt, *enchorial*, because it was the writing of the country. It is a still further corruption of the original hieroglyphics than the former

mode, whence it was derived. It now appears that it was invented at a very late period of the history of Egypt.

The progress that has been made, with the interpretation of the texts in these two latter systems, has been hitherto far from satisfactory, through the very equivocal and uncertain forms of the characters which compose them. Should the recovery of the mode of reading them ever be completed, they promise very valuable illustrations both of the religion and literature of Ancient Egypt.

A specimen of each of them is here subjoined. (Plate I.)

The hieroglyphic texts may be arranged either in vertical or horizontal columns: for instance the following phrase may be written either  or  without any change in the sense. They may also be read from left to right, as in the above  examples, or the reverse as  or  It will be perceived that the commencement of of the column is indicated by the direction of the heads of the men and animals, and the conspicuous points of the inanimate objects. This variation in the direction has arisen from the constant employment of hieroglyphic legends, as the explanations of large pictures or reliefs.

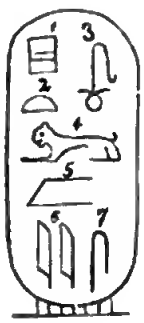
The internal structure of the hieroglyphic writing

is likewise very remarkable, and highly characteristic of the extremely remote period to which we are able to trace its invention.

Many of the hieroglyphic characters represent sounds. These have been well named by their discoverer Champollion le Jeune, *phonetic*, from the Greek word φωνὴ, a "sound."

The same sound may be represented in hieroglyphics by many different characters, which have been named by the same great authority, also their discoverer, *homophons*, from the Greek ὁμῶς, "alike," and φωνὴ, a "sound."

So important are these characters to the whole structure of the hieroglyphic texts, that at the risk of repeating what may be familiar to some of our readers, we give here the process by which Champollion ascertained the mode of reading them.

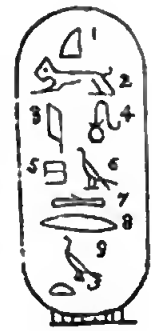


The well-known inscription of Rosetta has a group of characters many times repeated enclosed in a ring, which from the Greek translation below can be no other than the proper name PTOLEMY. The same ring also occurs on the obelisk brought from Philœ by Mr. Bankes, where a Greek inscription likewise mentions the names of king PTOLEMY, and queen CLEOPATRA.

Βασιλευς Πτολημαιος και Βασιλισσα Κλεοπατρα.

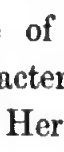
Upon this monument occurs also another group

of characters equally enclosed in a ring, which the Greek seems to indicate as that of CLEOPATRA.



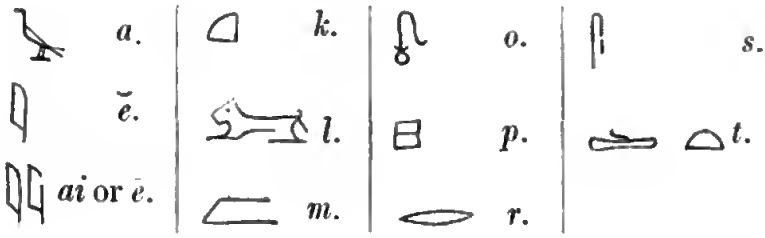
If we compare the two rings together, it will be observed that the first character in PTOLEMY's name corresponds with the fifth in CLEOPATRA's: both are the same, a square block or package . But this is also the case with the Greek transcription.

The first letter of the name $\overset{1}{\Pi}\ \overset{2}{T}\ \overset{3}{O}\ \overset{4}{\Lambda}\ \overset{5}{E}\ \overset{6}{M}\ \overset{7}{AI}\ \overset{8}{O}\ \overset{9}{\Sigma}$, and the fifth of the name $\overset{1}{K}\ \overset{2}{\Lambda}\ \overset{3}{E}\ \overset{4}{O}\ \overset{5}{\Pi}\ \overset{6}{A}\ \overset{7}{T}\ \overset{8}{P}\ \overset{9}{A}$, are both Π, P. The value of this character Champollion therefore assumed to be P. The 3rd character in PTOLEMY's name and the 4th in CLEOPATRA's are also alike both in the Greek and in the hieroglyphics.  A cord knotted was thence assumed to have the power of O. The fourth character in PTOLEMY is a lion, the second in CLEOPATRA is a lion also. The corresponding letter of the Greek in both places is Λ, L. The lion therefore represents the letter L. The 6th and 9th letters of CLEOPATRA are moreover alike in the Greek. In the hieroglyphic name both are also represented by the same character  the hawk or eagle, which thence was assumed to have the power of A. So far the correspondences were exact, so as to leave no doubt. The discoverer had now to complete his most successful analysis. The first letter in CLEOPATRA (k or c hard), is not in PTOLEMY. Neither is it to be found in the hieroglyphic name of PTOLEMY. This character, therefore  (a wedge of wood or metal), was assumed to

be K or C. In like manner the 1st, 3rd, and 4th characters of PTOLEMY having been found to correspond exactly with the Greek, he could scarcely err in assuming a similar correspondence for the second character. The small obsidian polisher  therefore was set down for T. The third of CLEOPATRA (epsilon, ĕ), is represented by a blade of the common reed of the Nile; the last character but one in PTOLEMY is two such blades . Here there was an apparent want of correspondence. But the intimate knowledge of the Coptic texts possessed by the discoverer soon enabled him to solve the difficulty. He knew the great uncertainty of the vowels in that language, and how constantly they interchange with each other without any variation in the sense of the words, being often omitted altogether. He assumed from thence, and as it soon appeared, rightly, that as one leaf in CLEOPATRA represented ĕ, the two in PTOLEMY must be the dipthong *ai*, or any dipthong or long vowel generally. This very happy thought enabled him to complete the name of PTOLEMY. It was now evident the vowels might be omitted in transcribing a Greek name in hieroglyphics. So that he at once assumed that the 5th character,  (the support of a boat when stranded), was M, and the 7th  (a crotchet or yoke), was S. The name was therefore written in hieroglyphics, *P t o l m a i s*, with the omission of two intermediate vowels; exactly as would have been the case had it been written with Hebrew letters. The only characters now to be ascertained in order to read both names completely, were the 7th and 8th of

CLEOPATRA. With the latter there was no difficulty. It is the human mouth , and the corresponding letter of the Greek is R. But the seventh letter in the Greek is T, which in PTOLEMY was represented by the polisher, whereas its equivalent in CLEOPATRA is the human hand. It was this comparison which gave Champollion the first intimation of the system of *homophons* which prevails in this mode of writing, and which we have explained to mean the representation of the same sound by many different characters.

The result of this brilliant discovery stood thus. Champollion had read two proper names and ascertained the values of twelve characters, viz.:



Like every real discovery, it soon verified itself. In less than a year Champollion published in his "*Lettre a M. Dacier*," the names of more than one hundred Greek kings and queens of Egypt, and Roman emperors, all written with phonetic hieroglyphics. The use of these characters with the same sounds in Egyptian names and common words was the next step in the discovery which completed it. The "*Précis du systeme*

Hieroglyphique" was the work in which he developed this fact.

The phonetic hieroglyphics are about one hundred and fifty in number, and represent 19 sounds. They constitute an integral and most important part of the system.

Before the early and lamented removal of Champollion, he had made several additions to his original discovery. He ascertained that many of the characters occurring with phonetic powers, in texts of the later times of the Ptolemies and Roman Emperors, were so used by a corruption or degradation of the system, which was unknown at the earlier and better periods of hieroglyphic literature. In his "*Grammaire Egyptienne*," which was published posthumously, he distinguishes in his alphabet of phonetic hieroglyphics, the characters thus corruptly employed from those originally phonetic. He points out, or hints at, in the same portion of this work, some other peculiarities of the phonetic hieroglyphics, which have been still further developed by the subsequent labours of Christian Bunsen, Richard Lepsius, and Samuel Birch. The following are the principal of these peculiarities.

There are certain characters used phonetically only as the initial letters of words, the meaning of which these characters themselves express symbolically. We give the following examples.


This group of characters represents the letters *n*, *f*, *r*. It is the consonants of the Coptic word **ⲛⲟⲩϥⲣ**, which signifies "goodness" or "good." The first character is a lute, which the Greek

author Plato, informs us was used in the Egyptian language as the symbol for goodness.

Another very common group in the hieroglyphic texts is written . The first character has always been known through the tradition of the Arab astrologers to be the hieroglyphic for "life." It makes a conspicuous figure in the books written on our subject, in the last and preceding centuries, as the sacred TAU to which many strange cabalistic properties were assigned. As used in the group before us, it is merely the first letter of the word written in Coptic, ⲟⲛϩ or, ⲱⲟⲩ, the remaining two letters of which are expressed by the other two characters. They represent together the letters *enh* or *onch*, which signify in Coptic "life." The characters at the beginning of both these groups are never used phonetically, that is, to express sounds, but in this connection. When written alone in the texts, they equally represent the ideas of goodness and life. They are used as letters only when employed as the initials of the words which convey the ideas of which they themselves are the symbols. There are many other characters employed in the same manner. Nearly the whole of them will be found in our alphabet. It is to the sagacity and industry of Samuel Birch that we are mainly indebted for the collection of these initials.

The next peculiarity of the phonetic hieroglyphics which we shall notice, was first fully developed by the same diligent and successful student.

Certain phonetics expressing consonants, are always found in the texts associated with certain other phonetics expressing vowels or consonants, to the exclusion

of all other homophons, either of the one or of the other, so that to put the reader in possession of a correct idea of this most ancient mode of writing, a syllabarium, or spelling-book, as well as an alphabet, must be laid before him.

One further step in advance in regard to the phonetic hieroglyphics has also been made since the death of Champollion. *The increase of the number of these characters* which he found to have taken place in the later and decadent periods of Egyptian history, *is now ascertained to have been going on more or less at all times*, and that at first the number of phonetic characters in the system was but very small.

The following alphabet and syllabarium are those of the earliest and best periods of the monarchy.

	Form.	Sound.
	Vowels.	
1	 Arm.	a. u.
2.	 Eagle.	a. e. ĕ.
3.	 Quail.	u. b. f.
4.	 Reed.	a. e. ĕ.
5.	 Two Reeds.	ā. ī.
6.	 Club.	ai.

	Form.	Sound.
	Vowels.	
7.	 Cord.	u. b. f.
8.	 Oblique lines.	i. e.
	Initials and Syllables.	
9.	 Colossus and crotchet.	as.
10.	 Man's head, package, and oblique lines.	api.
11.	 Hare and waved line.	un.
12.	 Skin of an animal and leg.	ab.

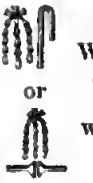
	Form.	Sound.
	Initials and Syllables.	
13.	 Goose and wedge.	ak.
14.	 Swallow and mouth.	ur. chel.
15.	 Flower and waved line.	un.
16.	 Reed with the symbol of motion, reed, and two oblique lines.	ei. i.
17.	 Onion and quail.	ui.
18.	 Onion and snake.	ut.
19.	 Table of prothesis, package, and polisher.	utp. hotp.
20.	 Altar with drink-offering, and leg.	ab. eb.
21.	 Altar with a cake of shew-bread, and leg.	eb. eib.
22.	 Sceptre with jackal's head, crotchet, and mouth.	usr.
23.	 Clasp of a girdle, waved line, and sieve.	enh.
24.	 Vase pouring water, and leg.	ab. ub.
25.	 Vase pouring water, and cow's horn.	uab.
26.	 Knife and hand.	at.

	Form.	Sound.
	Initials and Syllables.	
27.	 Knife and polisher.	at.
28.	 Cord and eagle.	ua.
29.	 Cross and mouth.	ur. chel.
	Consonants.	
	B.	
30.	 Man's leg.	b.
31.	 Censer, with flame.	b.
	Initials and Syllables.	
32.	 Wading bird and reed.	ba.–Birch
33.	 Tufted crane and sieve.	bsh.
34.	 Head of same and sieve.	bsh.
35.	 Ear of corn, polisher, and oblique lines.	bti.
	F.	
36.	 Horned snake [cerastes.]	f. b. u.
	Initials and Syllables.	
37.	 Three water-jars, waved line, polisher, and oblique lines.	fonti.
38.	 Head of a calf, with same.	fenti.

	Form.	Sound.
	G.	G soft, or DJ. Coptic ϭ, ϫ.
39.	 Water plant.	g.
40.	 Cord-knotted. (See T.)	g.
	Initials and Syllables.	
41.	 Bird eating and owl.	gm. Copt. ϭⲙⲱ 'to swallow.'
42.	 Same and boat-stand.	the same.
43.	 Pod of an acacia and owl.	the same, in the sense of 'delight,' 'enjoy.'
44.	 Wooden palisade and package.	gp. Copt. ϭⲡ 'receive.'
	H.	
45.	 Finger or club.	h.
46.	 Tongue.	h.
47.	 Ram. (See No. 98, 100.)	h in *nh.*
48.	 Ground-plot of a house.	h. Often initial.
49.	 Twisted cord.	h.

	Form.	Sound.
	Initials and Syllables.	
	H. continued.	
50.	 Hill and quail.	hu.
51.	 Hill and cord.	the same.
52.	 A man's face and mouth.	hr. hl.
53.	 Mons Veneris and owl.	hm.
54.	 Fore part of a lion.	h.
55.	 Three flowers and bird.	ha.
•55.	 Three flowers and waved line.	hn.
56.	 Screen and package.	hp.
57.	 Crook, wedge, and bird.	hka.
58.	 Latin cross and owl.	hm. BIRCH *am.*
	K.	
59.	 Two arms, upraised. Often with mouth *kr*, and eagle *ka*.	k.
60.	 Throne or stool. Often as above.	k.
61.	 Ladder, or support, for planks.	k. BIRCH. *ch.*

	Form.	Sound.
	K. continued.	
62.	 Wedge or block.	k.
63.	 Bronze basin, with a ring.	k.
64.	 The same. Thus written on monuments of the 4th dynasty.	k.
65.	 A twisted cord.	k.
	Initials and Syllables.	
66.	 Crocodile's tail; sym. of darkness.	k.
67.	 Counterpoise of a collar and mouth.	kr.
	L. R.	
68.	 Man's mouth.	l. r.
69.	 Lion.	l. r.
	M.	
70.	 Vulture.	m. initial in *mau*, 'mother.'
71.	 Owl.	m.
72.	 Plough.	m., often syllabic.
73.	 Boat-stand.	m.

	Form.	Sound.
	M. continued.	
74.	 Reed cut for writing.	m.
75.	 Sickle.	m., often syllabic.
	Initials and Syllables.	
76.	 Hand with vase of milk	m.
77.	 Ostrich feather & quail.	mu.
78.	 Embattled wall and waved line.	mn.
79.	 Pool and mouth.	mr.
80.	 Plough and mouth.	the same.
81.	 Cubit and arm.	ma.
82.	 Girdle and twisted rope.	mh.
83. or 84.	 Whip and crotchet, or whip and bolt.	ms.
85.	 Rope coiled and mouth.	mr.
	N.	
86.	 The surface of running water.	n.

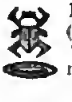
	Form.	Sound.
	N. continued.	
87.	 Crown of Lower Egypt.	n.
88.	 Vase for offering milk.	n. often syllabic.
	Initials and Syllables.	
89.	 Black carrion eating bird, and cord.	nh.
90.	 Fillet and bolt.	ns. nse.
91.	 Lute, snake, and mouth,	nfr. Hebrew נְבֵל 'a lute;' Copt. ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ 'good.'
92.	 Weaver's shuttle and polisher.	nt. Coptic ⲛⲓⲧ 'to weave.'
93.	 Hatchet, polisher, and mouth.	ntr. Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ 'god.'
94.	 Filtering cloth for gold dust and man's leg.	nb. Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲃ 'gold.'
95.	 Vase and quail,	nu.
	or	
96.	 or vase and cord.	
97.	 Vase on two legs and waved line.	nn.
98.	 Jug and ram.	nh. Hiero. nA, 'annual overflow.'
99.	 Jug and owl.	nm.

	Form.	Sound.
	Initials and Syllables.	
	N. continued.	
100.	 Jug and cord.	nh. same as jug and ram.
	P.	
101.	 Goose flying.	p. ph., often init.
102.	 Package.	p., sometimes b.
	Initials and Syllables.	
103.	 Terminal mark.	p. Initial in pr, 'boundary. Copt. ⲡⲓⲏⲏ &c.
104.	 Another form of same.	p.
105.	 Ferule or badge of office; pt in hieroglyphics.	p. or f.
	S.	
106.	 Nile goose.	s., nearly always initial.
107.	 Crotchet, or yoke, used by sacred scribes.	s.
108.	 Lid for quiver.	s.
109.	 Bolt of a door.	s.
	Initials and Syllables.	
110.	 Skin used for target, pierced with an arrow, polisher, and oblique lines.	sti.

	Form.	Sound.
	Initials and Syllables.	
	S. continued.	
111.	 An egg.	s.
112.	 A snail and water.	sn. BIRCH
113.	 Kind of plant.	s.
114.	 Water-plant and polisher.	st.
115.	 Bunch of lotus flowers and ringed basin.	sk.
116.	 Auger, drill.	s.
117.	 Net closed, sieve, and polisher.	ssht.
118.	 Battle-axe, vase, and polisher.	snt.
119.	 Vase for perfume.	s.
	T.	
120.	 Open hand.	t.
121.	 Arm, with offering.	t.
122.	 Snake.	t. dj.
123.	 Leaf of some plant.	t.

	Form.	Sound.
	T. continued.	
124.	 Offering of various substances.	t.
125.	 Young bird.	t.
126.	 Purse, or 'spindle with thread,' BIRCH.	t.
127.	 Looped cord.	t.
128.	 Polisher.	t.
	Initials and Syllables.	
129.	 Picture of flat land.	to.
130.	 Leg of an ox and owl.	tm.
131.	 Crested bird and leg.	tb.
132.	 Sledge and boat-stand.	tm.
133.	 Plant and waved line, or	tn.
134.	 Plant and vase.	
135.	 Basket of baked meats, and mouth.	tr. gl.
136.	 Bolts of two different kinds.	ts.

Form.		Sound.
	Initials and Syllables.	
	T. continued.	
137.	 Sceptre, with head of hoopoe, and owl.	tm.
138.	 Clasp of a chest and leg.	tb. BIRCH.
139.	 Blade of an oar and hand.	tt.
140.	 Support for joiner's work, and hand.	tt.
	SH.	
141.	 Water-plant.	sh. g.
142.	 or	sh. g.
143.	 Tank for water.	
144.	 Sieve.	sh. g.
	Initials and Syllables.	
145.	 Calf.	sh. init. in Coptic, ϣⲁⲓ 'to be born'
146.	 A portion of the short ribs of an ox. Sym., 'equality,' the ribs being equal on both sides.	sh.

Form.		Sound.
	Initials and Syllables.	
	SH. continued.	
147.	 The same.	sh.
148.	 The same (*tomb of Nebsh, Beni-hassan*), and sieve.	shsh.
149.	 Fish with a sharp muzzle, common in the Nile. Sym., 'uncleanness.'	sh.
150.	 Open capsule of some small seeded plant.	sh.
151.	 Capsule of another plant.	sh.
152.	 Diadem and arm.	sha.
153.	 Weight, with loop for suspending it from the beam of the balance.	sh.
	CH.	Greek χ. Copt. ϧ.
154.	 Prostrate gland, or vagina.	ch. BUNSEN.
155.	 Rolling beetle (sym., 'creator,' 'maker,') and mouth.	chr.

The principle upon which the whole of these expressions of sounds have been constructed, is neither so intricate nor recondite as the students of the German school seem to imagine. It is identical with that upon

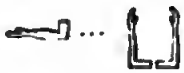
which the ancient Hebrew alphabet was formed—the first articulations in the common appellatives of certain objects being represented by the pictures of those objects. Thus, the picture of a house ב represents the sound of *b*, because it is the first articulation in the Hebrew word *beth*, בית "a house," which is also the name of the letter. The letter *g*, in the same manner, and for the same reason, is called *gimel*, and was originally the picture of a camel ג, Heb. גמל "a camel." The whole Hebrew alphabet has been constructed on this principle, as it is needless to remind those who are at all conversant with that language.

The same principle has been applied in the construction of the alphabet before us. In the case of the initials it has been carried one step further. Of nearly all the phonetics representing natural objects, or implements of the arts of common life, the appellatives whence they have been derived remain in the Coptic texts. There are other phonetics, the words for which have been lost, though the sounds are well ascertained. These will be found to be, in almost every instance, vessels or utensils employed in religion, the names for which were, of course, rejected from the Christian books. The following phonetics, with known appellatives, are principally from the grammar of Champollion :—

Sign.	Name.	Coptic.	Sound.
	Blade of the reed.	ⲁⲕϭ,ⲟⲕϭ	*a*, *o*.
	Eagle.	ⲁϩⲱⲩ	*a*.
	Owl.	ⲗⲟⲩⲗⲁⲭ	*m*.
	Mouth.	ⲣⲱ	*r*.
	Beetle.	gr. κανθαρος, hieroglyphics *krb*.	*k*, or *ch*.
	Egg.	ϲⲟⲟⲩϩϭ	*s*.
	Hand.	ⲧⲟⲧ	*t*.
	Lion.	ⲗⲁⲃⲱ	*l*.
	Shuttle.	ⲛⲁⲧ	*n*.
	Trough of water.	ϣⲏⲏ	*sh*.

Many additions might now be made to this list.

The following are a few of the phonetics for which we have no appellatives :—

 Positions of the arms in acts of worship.

 Sacred vessels.

 Sacrificial knives.

 Sacred utensils, &c.

. Articles of decoration or dress for the priests.

. Stand and cordage of the sacred boats.

This list must also be greatly enlarged were we now engaged upon the grammar of the hieroglyphic system. It will be perceived that the words for all these objects would be too closely associated with the ancient idolatry to admit of their introduction into a translation of the Bible, or into books on Christian doctrine. Accordingly, they are not to be found in the Coptic texts.

The principle, therefore, upon which the phonetic hieroglyphics have been invented, is sufficiently apparent. It is exactly that of the Hebrew alphabet.

The next application of the same principle in the order of induction, (we know nothing of the order of time,) consisted in drawing the picture of an object not in the phonetic alphabet, and following it by phonetics representing all the other sounds of its common appellative except the initial one, which the object itself, of course, represented. Hence arose the initials and syllables of our alphabet, which seem to form the second step in the process of the invention.

To the third step in this very simple induction, the inventors have apparently been driven by the enormous inconvenience of introducing into the system the crowd of phonetic characters which this former mode of writing an entire language would have required. The device whereby this difficulty has been counteracted is a highly ingenious one. The sounds of the word were

written in pure phonetics, followed by a picture of the object signified.

Thus,  *che*, is the common appellative for a cow (ϣϣ in the Coptic texts). The phonetic transcription is, therefore, followed by the picture of a cow. In the same way,  *al*, is the word written in Coptic, ⲁⲗⲁ "a gazelle;" accordingly, the picture of this animal closes the group. This mode of applying pictures to phonetics, Champollion, its discoverer, has named *determinative;* an epithet which exactly defines it.

In precisely the same manner as the initial occasionally stands alone in the texts without its phonetic complement, or rather exponent, so this terminal picture also is often made the representative of the entire group, of which, in full transcriptions, it is only the concluding character. These have been called (as we think improperly,) *pictorial* or *imitative* characters. They appear to us always to represent words, and never ideas, in the hieroglyphic texts.

There is yet another step in the reasoning process whereupon the graphic system of Ancient Egypt has been constructed. The initial is occasionally retained in a group, yet it is preceded by the purely phonetic character, the sound of which it represents. The purpose of its retention is, apparently, to determine the sound of the syllable of which it forms the middle character. Or, possibly, it was a mere archaism, an adherence to the old mode of spelling a syllable through unwillingness to change, just as in our own language.

In some cases, the word thus spelled retains the meaning denoted by the initial. In many others, it is merely a syllable combined with other letters to express other meanings.

It is thus that  *nsa*, is of very frequent use in the hieroglyphic texts as the representative of nothing more than this articulation in many different words. It was originally written , as we have already explained, (alphabet, no. 90,) and meant a band or fillet for the head, named *nese*. The derivatives from this word are ⲛⲟⲥⲉ "fair," "becoming," Coptic; נשׂא "bear." "sustain," Hebrew.

In the same manner, the middle character of the group  *hs*, is a spindle (in Coptic ϩⲥ); but this is not its meaning, nor has this character any sound whatever. It would seem merely to denote that the *h* and *s*, which precede and follow it, are to be pronounced like *hōs*, "a spindle."

 The middle character of this group is a scaleless fish having two long filaments immediately over the eyes. It is very common in the Nile. Its Egyptian name was *an*, which appears to have suggested the word  *anhu*, "eyebrow;" but, like the former, the group is also used in many other words merely to express the sound *an*.*

* Mr. Birch has found both this character and the similarly placed one in the preceding group, used alone as initials.—*Bunsen, Eg. Pl. Hierog., Mixed Signs, No.* 41, *Phon. No.* 12.

 The middle character here is a scented flower, which was anciently called ϩⲏⲛⲉ *hene*. It originally represented the initial aspirate *h*, (alphabet, no 55,) but the twisted cord is added to interpret it. Like the former, it is often written thus to represent merely the syllable *hen*.

 The middle character is a bouquet of sweet scented lotus flowers with the stalks twisted, such as it was the custom to present to the guests at funerals. The ancient name of this bouquet was *sek*, the remains of which may be discerned in the Coptic word ⲥⲉⲕ, "to tie in bundles." It represented *s*, the first articulation in this word, as we have already explained (alphabet, no. 115); but the crotchet, which is a pure phonetic, is often prefixed for the sake of perspicuity. It is also often thus used syllabically.

The elementary processes by which these pictures of physical objects were made to represent the articulations of the human voice, and the meanings attached to those articulations, are now before the reader. It will be perceived, that so far only a small part of the difficulties of such a graphic system have been surmounted. A large class of words indispensable to human intercommunication by speech, are yet without representatives in our system of writing. Mental emotions and impressions, abstract notions, in a word, all ideas not to be conveyed by a picture of a physical object, we have not as yet acquired the power of expressing in writing. It is the use of pictures, either as initials or determinatives, which pervades the entire

system, that alone occasions the difficulty. Had they been discontinued, and the phonetics retained merely as the signs of sound, as in other languages, it would never have existed. It has been surmounted by means of *symbols;* that is, by making the picture of one thing the representative of another, either object or idea. The various devices by which these are accomplished are more proper to a treatise on hieroglyphic grammar. We propose, hereafter, to explain such of them as appear to us really to bear upon the history of Egypt. We give here merely a specimen or two, in order to render our definition intelligible :—

 *sch.* Coptic ϲϫⲁⲓ "writing;" determined by reed, the ink-vase, and the palette, suspended from the the crotchet which the sacred scribe carried on his left shoulder.

 *gnt.* Coptic ϫⲱⲛⲧ "to be angry;" determined by an ape, because that animal was supposed to be very irascible.

 *chl.* Coptic ϧⲉⲗ,ϧⲱⲗ "to fight," "to cut in pieces;" determinative, two arms with shield and spear.

 *ma.* Coptic ⲙⲁⲓ "justice;" determinative, an ostrich feather, because the ancients supposed that all the feathers in the wing of an ostrich were equal, and not of different lengths, as in other birds.*

These symbols are used alone in the texts to represent the words they determine, in exactly the same manner as the other class of determinatives.

* Hor. lib. 1, h. 18.

There are also hieroglyphics which are merely used as pictures or symbols, their phonetic complements having not yet been discovered; but it is not to be doubted that originally they were all either initials or determinatives. The hieratic and demotic texts have already supplied the phonetic expressions of many of these uninterpreted characters, and, were they well understood, would doubtless supply many more.

This is our theory of the process by which the hieroglyphic writing has been constructed. We are aware that it is not only unsupported by the authority of any other student of the subject, but that it also inverts their reasoning. In treating this part of the question, the natural order, as it has been called, has invariably been followed. The representation of a visible object by a picture is assumed to have been the first step in the process; then followed the gradual invention of symbols; and, last of all, after ages of unsuccessful effort to represent thought by written characters, the discovery of phonetics, which, by some utterly unaccountable caprice of the human mind, was never perfected in this system into a pure alphabet representing sounds only.

Our reasons for inverting this theory are, we submit, obvious and intelligible, and conform well with the dictates of common sense. Seeing that nothing perishes in Egypt, and that we have papyri, and pieces of linen, as well as monuments of stone, which were inscribed with hieroglyphic characters before the times of Abraham, yet that remain to this day as legible as on the day they were written,—How does it happen

that on none of these do we find a single trace of that slow process of invention for which this generally-received theory contends? On the contrary, the oldest texts exhibit the system in its greatest perfection. The texts of later date differ from them only in a few changes, which are mere deteriorations and corruptions. Had the system been, in any of its parts, the result of a series of experiments continued through many ages, assuredly, in the vast period over which the recovered monumental history of Egypt extends, some traces of this experimental process would have been discernible on comparing together the texts of different periods; as is the case with the writings of Greece, of Rome, of India, of China, and of all other nations. No such traces can be found; and hence we infer that no such process has existed.

We submit, moreover, that by assuming the inventors of the hieroglyphic system to have been acquainted with the principle upon which the Hebrew alphabet was constructed, we make their invention the result of an obvious and natural process of reasoning, such as we have no difficulty in ascribing to a very remote age, when the modes of thought prevalent among mankind were necessarily few and simple. Whereas, on the other assumption, their system is the issue of a mental process so intricate and so cumbrous, that to unravel the thread of reasoning by which its inventors have arrived at it, is an operation too difficult even for the intellectual culture of the present day; and we can only escape from the difficulty by the further assumption, that the hieroglyphic system is the one remaining

monument of some extinct civilization, of which no other trace whatever has been preserved.

Two peculiarities in the internal structure of these ancient texts, which it is also needful to explain, seem to us to militate just as strongly against the assumption that it was the result of a slow and long-continued effort, as the absence of all visible signs of it on the monuments.

The first of them is in the initials. The pictures of objects so used are always to be understood in a symbolical, and never in a direct, sense. The vulture, for example, is only used initially in the word *mau*, "mother," of which relation that bird is the symbol. When it determines the group *nru*, which is the Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉ "vulture," it has a direct or pictorial import. It is needless to make further extracts from the syllabarium. It will be found, on referring to it, that this is a rule absolutely without exception.

There is also an application of the determinative signs equally needful to be known, and as strongly opposed to the assumption that the system is one of slow growth out of many adventitious circumstances, like the more modern graphic systems.

There are certain pictures or symbols which determine many different words, all belonging to the same class of ideas. Thus, all words denoting fire and its actions are determined by a brazier emitting flame. 

Water and its operations are denoted by three waved lines  the well known picture of the surface of the Nile rippling in the north wind. In like

manner, but by an application of the picture still more metaphorical, words expressing the act of speaking are determined by the figure of a man with his hand to his mouth ; words expressing actions, especially of the arm, by an arm with a club ; and those signifying motion, by two legs running . These characters have been well named *determinatives of kind.*

Now we submit that constructions like these are the clear indications of a high degree of abstractive power in the minds by whom such a system was excogitated. We likewise suggest, that the undeviating regularity with which these constructions pervade the entire system, indicates as clearly that it was not the slow growth of many ages of experiment, but the invention of a few minds prepared by previous culture and experience for the task they had undertaken,—like electricity, the steam engine, and other discoveries of our own times.

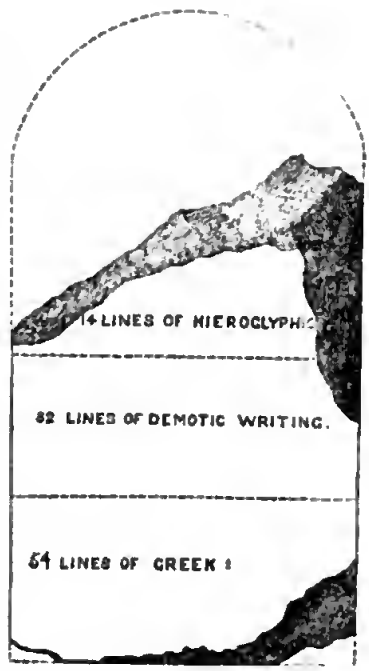
Having now endeavoured to explain the more prominent peculiarities of the hieroglyphic writings, it remains for us to place before the reader some portions of text with their interpretation and analysis. In making our selection for this purpose, it has appeared desirable, for many reasons, not to repeat the passages which have already been interpreted by the labour of others, but to take some portion of writing hitherto unexplained, and the elucidation of which is, nevertheless, highly desirable. For this purpose no inscription with which we are acquainted seems to possess equal advantages with that of Rosetta. With the exception of a very few

phrases, it has never yet been analyzed. In the judgment of the great majority of those who have given merely an ordinary degree of attention to Egyptian archæology, it never will. Yet it is triumphantly and truly urged by the many who are still sceptical as to the reality of Champollion's discovery, "You ask us on the one hand to receive your interpretations of untranslated texts, while on the other hand you admit your entire inability to analyze another text which has been found with a co-eval Greek translation. Give us, in the first instance, a full and clear account of each group of characters which composes that text; shew us its import, and the Greek word that translates it, and then you put us in position to form a judgment on your asserted discovery. Surely there must be some aid to your labours, in the circumstance that you know beforehand the meaning of that which you are about to analyze. The mere fact that your researches have not commenced with this translated text, strongly countenances our assumption, that your asserted recovery of the mode of reading hieroglyphics is a mistake."

There is some truth in these remarks, though, by no means, all that appears at first sight; enough, however, to render it highly desirable that an effort should be made to remove this opprobrium from the subject. The advantage, moreover, of a Greek translation, is an inestimable one for the reader. He will scarcely doubt the truth of our interpretations, when he finds that, according to our analysis of the several groups and phrases, their import was exactly that which their Greek translator gave to them when they were first engraven on the basalt.

Some particulars regarding this celebrated inscription must be premised. The block of basalt, on which it occurs, was found at Rosetta, on the eastern mouth of the Nile, by the engineers of the French army, in 1798, while digging the foundations of a fort. Together with many other antiques, it was afterwards captured by the English fleet, on its way to France, and deposited in the British Museum, where it still remains. The upper portion of this block is inscribed with fourteen lines of hieroglyphics, all mutilated by the fracture of the stone. Immediately below them are thirty-two lines in the demotic or enchorial character, but little injured by fracture or defacement. Unfortunately, this portion is at once the most perfect, and the least important of the three. The lowest portion of the block contains fifty-four lines of Greek, of which the first twenty-seven are perfect and uninjured; the remainder are all, more or less, mutilated at the end of the lines by an oblique fracture inclining inwards, so that the extent of mutilation regularly increases as the inscription approaches its termination, and the last line is the most imperfect of all. Unhappily, the fractures of the hieroglyphic original have been in the opposite direction; the lines become more mutilated as they proceed upwards. The beginnings of all of them are gone, and the terminations of the two last only remain. All the rest are mutilated at both ends; both mutilations regularly increasing as we proceed upwards; so that of the first line scarcely one-fourth remains. Thus, it will be perceived, that where the Greek is the most perfect, the hieroglyphics are the most mutilated; and the place where the largest portion

of hieroglyphics remains, is precisely that in which the Greek inscription has sustained the most serious injury; so that the corresponding Greek to a large portion of the remaining hieroglyphics has been lost. This is, to the student, the more tantalizing, because that which remains of the last line of the Greek removes all doubt as to its really being a translation, by formally declaring the fact.



This inscription is a statute of the priests of Egypt decreeing an apotheosis, or place among the gods then actually worshipped, to PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, the fifth successor of LAGUS, the founder of the Greco-Egyptian monarchy.* The only other instance known of a king of Egypt being thus made a god during his lifetime, is in the case of his remote predecessor, HORUS, the last Pharaoh of the 18th dynasty. A similar decree assigns the same honour to him, engraven on the back of a

* The succession, up to EPIPHANES, of the Ptolemaic kings, their queens, and the dates of their reigns, are as follows :—

King.	Queen.	Began to reign, B.C.
LAGUS, or SOTER.	BERENICE.	305
PHILADELPHUS.	ARSINOE.	284
EUERGETES.	BERENICE.	246
PHILOPATOR.	ARSINOE.	221
EPIPHANES.	CLEOPATRA.	204

throne which once supported a statue of him. The fragment is in the museum at Turin. Manetho tells us of HORUS, that he had seen the gods. This peculiar honour seems to be indicated in the case before us by the title EPIPHANES, which signifies "shining forth as a deity," "a god confest."

This decree appears to have been issued in the twelfth year of the life of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, and the ninth of his reign, corresponding to 196 B.C. The spirit of mendacious sycophancy in which it has been drawn up, is highly characteristic of the Egyptian priesthood.

It is further needful to premise before entering on our task, that no two languages ever presented a more perfect discordance in grammatical and rhetorical construction, than the ancient Egyptian and the Greek. Any approach to a literal rendering of the one language into the other, was, for this reason, a sheer impossibility; nor was it at all necessary to the literary requirements of the times of the Rosetta inscription. The Greek translation, therefore, we shall soon find to be exactly that which we might have looked for under the circumstances. It is a loose paraphrase, aiming at nothing more than the general scope and import of the original. There is no attempt at a strictly literal rendering. Such was neither wanted nor practicable. We commence with an English version of it entire. The parts priuted in *italics* are those for which the hieroglyphic original remains.

(Line 1.) "Under the young king who has received the kingdom of his father, lord of regalia, greatly glorified; who has set Egypt in order, and in the things that pertain to the

(Line 2.) gods, is pious, who is superior to his enemies, who sets right the life of men, lord of the festivals returning every thirty years, like Hephæstus the Great, king like the sun.

(Line 3.) The great king both of the Upper and Lower Countries, sprung from the gods PHILOPATOR, whom Hephæstus has approved, to whom the sun has given victory, living image of Zeus (Jupiter), son of the sun, PTOLEMY,

(Line 4.) everliving, beloved of PHTHA.* In the ninth year by Aetes, the son of Aetes, the priest of ALEXANDER, and of the gods SOTER, and of the gods ADELPHOS, and of the gods EUERGETES, and of the gods PHILOPATOR, and

(Line 5.) of the god EPIPHANES, very gracious. Pyrrha, the daughter of Philinus, being garland [or flower] bearer† to BERENICE, the queen of EUERGETES: Areia, the daughter of Diogenes, being basket-bearer‡ to ARSINOE, the queen of PHILADELPHUS; the priestess of ARSINOE, queen of PHILOPATER, being Eirene,

(Line 6.) the daughter of Ptolemy, on the 4th of the month Xandicus, which is the eighteenth of the Egyptian month Mecheir, [is issued this] decree.

"The high priests, and prophets, and those that enter the adytum for the dressing of

* It is scarcely credible that any one at all familiar with the Greek authors should, for one moment, have entertained the idea that the Greek of this inscription was the original document, and the hieroglyphics a translation, with a passage like this before him.

† ἀθλοφόρου. ‡ κανηφόρου See Liddel and Scott on this word.

(Line 7.) the gods,* and the fan-bearers, and the sacred scribes, and all the rest of the priests who met the king, from the temples throughout the country, at Memphis, on the occasion of the general assembly [πανηγυρις], on the receiving of the

(Line 8.) regal power of PTOLEMY, everliving, beloved of Phtha, god EPIPHANES, very gracious, which he received of his father; [these] being assembled in the temple at Memphis, on this [occasion] declared:—

(Line 9.) Seeing that the king PTOLEMY, everliving, beloved of Phtha, god EPIPHANES, very gracious, who is descended from king PTOLEMY and queen ARSINOE, gods PHILOPATOR, hath conferred many benefits both on the temples and

(Line 10.) those who are in them, and also upon all who are placed under his government; being a god, the son of a god and a goddess, like Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, the defender of his father Osiris; in the things belonging to the gods

(Line 11.) disposing beneficently, has dedicated to the temples, revenues, both of money and provisions, and has borne great charges, in order to bring peace to Egypt, and to set the temples in order.

(Line 12.) Also, to the utmost of his power, he has acted with humanity in all things. Also, of the taxes and imposts of Egypt, he has suppressed some and lightened others, that both the people and all others might be in

* The adytum was the most holy place of a heathen temple. The dressing of the images was the office of a peculiar order of the Egyptian priesthood, the στολιστοι.

(Line 13.) prosperity during his reign. Also, the crown debts, both those due from Egypt and those due from the rest of his kingdom, which were very considerable, he has remitted altogether. Also, those imprisoned,

(Line 14.) and those against whom criminal charges had been for a long time impending, he has freed from all fear of persecution. Also, he has decreed, that both the revenues of the temples, and the yearly contributions to them, both in provisions

(Line 15.) and money, and likewise the allotted assignments to the gods, from vineyards, gardens, and other lands, which belonged to the gods under his father,

(Line 16.) should continue throughout the country [*i.e.*, throughout all Egypt].* Moreover, he decreed, regarding the priests, that they should give nothing for the state taxes beyond what had been charged to them up to the first year of his father's reign. Also, he remitted to those of the

(Line 17.) sacred tribe [or caste]† their annual voyage to Alexandria. Also, he ordered that the collection for the navy should not be made; [remitting likewise] of the linen garments due from the priests to the palace

(Line 18.) two parts. Also, all things which had been neglected in former times he restored to their

* In this clause will be found the real motive of the priesthood in decreeing this apotheosis to PTOLEMY EPIPHANES.

† The sacred caste, doubtless, consisted of the descendants of priests and priestesses. All vocations in Egypt were strictly hereditary.

proper order, taking care that the wonted honours should be paid to the gods after a

(Line 19.) decorous manner. Also, in like manner, he administered justice to all, like the twice great Hermes. Moreover, he decreed, that those returning from foreign countries, both soldiers and others, who

(Line 20.) had been banished for crimes in the past times of trouble, should remain, having come back again, on their own patrimonies. Moreover, he provided, that horse and foot forces, and ships, should be sent forth against those who invaded

(Line 21.) Egypt,* having borne a great expenditure of money and provisions, both on sea and land, that both the temples and the inhabitants [of Egypt] might be in safety. Being present,

(Line 22.) also, at Lycopolis, in the nome of Busiris,† which had been taken and fortified for a siege, by an expensive magazine of arms and all other supplies, inasmuch as for a long

(Line 23.) time the alienation [from the government] had existed among the impious who had gathered together there, and had perpetrated many evils both against the temples and the inhabitants of Egypt.

"But he [the king]

(Line 24.) laid seige to it [Lycopolis], and surrounded it with extensive mounds, and ditches, and walls.

* This was the attack upon Egypt by ANTIOCHUS, king of Syria.

† Busiris was a nome of the Delta, upon the Phathmetic branch of the Nile. The city of Lycopolis in it is only mentioned in this place.

"Moreover, he repressed the great rise of the Nile, which took place in the eighth year, and threatened to inundate the

(Line 25.) plains, fortifying the mouths of the river in many places, and expending upon these works no small sum of money, and appointing horse and foot to guard

(Line 26.) them. Then he took the city in a short time by assault, and put to death all the wicked that were in it; even as Hermes, and Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, subdued the rebels in the same

(Line 27.) places; he [had] before chastized all the rebels and [or even]* *those that had favoured* [*by neglect*] *the rebels against his father, and had desolated the country, and spoiled the temples,* coming to Memphis to help

(Line 28.) his father and his government.† At the same time, also, he was present there to perform the proper ceremonies for the reception of the crown. He remitted, moreover, that

(Line 29.) which was due from the temples‡ *to the palace* up to the eighth year, consisting of no small amount, both in provisions and money. *In like manner, he remitted the unpresented offerings to the royal residence of linen garments,*

(Line 30.) *and of those which had been presented,* [he remitted] the replacement of *such as were different from the pattern,* up to the same period. Also, he remitted

* Hieroglyphics, line 1.

† These are, certainly, remarkable exploits for a child twelve years old.

‡ Hieroglyphics, line 2.

from the temples the appointed artaba,* from the aroura* of the sacred land. Also, in like manner, of the vineyard-ground

(Line 31.) [he remitted] one jar† from each aroura. Moreover, he gave many things to Apis and Mnevis, and to the rest‡ *of the sacred animals of Egypt*, much more than the kings before him; *caring for them beyond those things that pertain to*

(Line 32.) *them in all things, and* [*especially*] *in the things proper to their funerals, giving bountifully and honourably; and the things devoted to their own peculiar temples, with sacrifices, and festivals, and the rest of the lawful ceremonies.*

(Line 33.) He also has carefully preserved‖ *the revenues* and rites of the temples and of Egypt, *on the same basis according to the laws. Also, he adorned the Apæum with very sumptuous works, supplying to it of gold and silver,*

(Line 34.) *and precious* [or highly-wrought] *stones, no small quantity.* Also, he founded temples, and shrines, and altars, and repaired those in need of repair; having, on becoming occasions,

(Line 35.) the enthusiasm of one of the gods, benefactors. Moreover, having inquired into the matter, he restored§ *the most honoured of the temples throughout his kingdom*, as is proper. *Wherefore the gods have given him health, victory, strength, and all other good things;*

* Two measures of land. The dimensions are not known.

† κεράμιον. ‡ Hieroglyphics, line 3. ‖ Hieroglyphics, line 4.

§ Hieroglyphics, line 5.

(Line 36.) *the kingdom continuing with him, and his children for ever.*"

"*With good fortune.*"

"*It seemed good to the priests of all the temples, throughout the country,* to increase greatly * *the existing peculiar honours,*

(Line 37.) to the ever-living king PTOLEMY, beloved of Phtha, god EPIPHANES, very gracious; and, in like manner, those of his relatives, the gods PHILOPATOR; † and those of his ancestors, the gods EUERGETES; and those of

(Line 38.) the gods ADELPHOS, and those of *the gods* SOTER; *also, to place to the ever-living king,* PTOLEMY, *god* EPIPHANES, *very gracious, a statue in every temple,* in the most conspicuous place,

(Line 39.) *which shall have the name of* PTOLEMY, *the avenger of Egypt; to which shall approach* the principal god of the temple, giving to it a conquering weapon, which shall be prepared....*(fourteen or fifteen letters broken off,)*

(Line 40.) manner. Also, the priests ‡ *shall worship the images thrice a-day, and place before them a sacred ornament, and fulfil the rest of the appointed ceremonies as they are performed to the other gods in* [feasts and pan-]‖

(Line 41.) *egyries. Also,* to consecrate to *king* PTOLEMY, *god* EPIPHANES, very gracious, who is the

* Hieroglyphics, line 6.

† That is, queen ARSINOE, the mother of EPIPHANES, and her favourite. His father, PHILOPATOR, had died eight years before.

‡ Hieroglyphics, line 7.

‖ In the hieroglyphics only: twenty letters wanting in the Greek.

son of king PTOLEMY and *queen* ARSINOE, gods PHILOPATOR,* *a statue and a gilded shrine....(eighteen letters wanting,)*

(Line 42.) *and to place them in the adyta, with the other shrines; and in the great general assemblies, in which processions of the shrines take place, that of the god* EPIPHANES, *very gracious....(twenty letters wanting,)*

(Line 43.) *shall go forth, that,* now and hereafter, the ten golden regalia of the king, to which the asp is attached, *may be conspicuously placed upon the shrine(twenty-two letters wanting,)*

(Line 44.) *of the asp-like regalia† which are upon the other shrines. Let there, also, be in the midst of them the regalè called* PSHENT, *wherewith being decorated he entered into Memphis....(twenty-two letters wanting,)*

(Line 45.) *completed the lawful ceremonies on the reception of the crown. Also, to put upon the quadrangular tablet concerning the coronation, which is before the aforesaid regalè,* golden borders....*(twenty-four letters wanting,)*

(Line 46.) is ‡ *of the king making illustrious both the Upper and Lower countries. Also, from hence, the thirtieth day of this* [*month*] *Mesore, on which the birth-day of the king is celebrated, and, in like manner....(twenty-five letters wanting)*

(Line 47.) *on which he received the sovereign power from his father, have been named after him in the temples, which* (days), *indeed, are the harbingers of* many benefits *to all;* to celebrate on these days a feast....*(thirty letters wanting,)*

* Hieroglyphics, line 8. † Hieroglyphics, line 9.
‡ Hieroglyphics, line 10.

(Line 48.) * *in the temples of Egypt monthly, and to perform on them sacrifices and libations, and other lawful ceremonies, according to those things; also, in the other general assemblies, both those which are held....(thirty-two letters wanting,)*

(Line 49.) *in the temples.* Also, to celebrate a feast, and general assembly, † *to the ever-living, and beloved of Phtha, king* PTOLEMY, *god* EPIPHANES, *very gracious, yearly....(thirty-five letters wanting,)*

(Line 50.) country, *from the first of the month of Thouth, for the five days on which, also, they carry about garlands, performing sacrifices and libations, and the other proper rites, proclaiming....(thirty-eight letters wanting.)*

(Line 51.) *Also, let the priests of the god* EPIPHANES, *very gracious, in addition to* the other names of the gods to whom *they minister;* and, notwithstanding, the honours due to all the oracles, and to the....*(forty letters wanting,)*

(Line 52.) ‡ *his priesthood. It shall, also, be lawful for other private persons to keep the feast, and to consecrate the aforesaid shrine, and to have it with themselves, performing....(forty-two letters wanting,)*

(Line 53.) *yearly. That it may be understood why the inhabitants of Egypt* advance and honour the god EPIPHANES, very gracious; as, indeed, is lawful....*(forty-five letters wanting,)*

(Line 54.) § *of hard stone, in sacred, and enchorial, and Greek characters; and to place in each of the first and second....(fifty letters wanting,)*

* Hieroglyphics, line 11. † Hieroglyphics, line 12.
‡ Hieroglyphics, line 13. § Hieroglyphics, line 14.

Having thus laid before the reader as exact and faithful a version as we can accomplish of the Greek translation, we proceed to the analysis of all that remains of the hieroglyphic original of this celebrated inscription. Before doing so, however, it may be well to explain that the greater part of the customs, ceremonies, offices, and other particulars mentioned, or alluded to, in this translation, are only illustrative of the state of things in Egypt in the times of the inscription itself. There is no evidence that they were in existence at the ancient periods of the history of Egypt.

We will proceed with the examination of the hieroglyphic lines in the order of their occurrence.*

LINE I.

We have already mentioned the state of deplorable mutilation of this portion of the text. Eight groups, or words, only remain perfect. They formed a portion of a long and intricately-constructed sentence, which commences in the twenty-sixth line of the Greek, and terminates in the twenty-eighth. The subject of it is, the taking of the city of Lycopolis, in the nome of Busiris, by Epiphanes, during the life of his father. The following is a very literal translation of the Greek: "Then he took the city, in a short time, by assault, and put to death all the wicked that were in it; even as Hermes, and Horus the son of Isis and Osiris,

* On the stone, the hieroglyphics read from right to left. We have reversed them in our copy, in order that they may arrange with the translations.

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE I.

1



djt.. *u*

Translation. those that had favored by neglect

GREEK. line 27. *τους ἀφεστημενους*

4



..... *un-se* *m-api-sne*

the rebels they [who] had not their head

των ἀποστατων ἐπι *τὴν ἰδιαν πατρὶς*



stm... .. *sne* *...bke*

obeyed [and] the country

κα. τὴν χωραν

7 8 9



shbt *em*

had desolated and the temples?

ἐνεφησαντας *και* *τα ἱερα*

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subdued the rebels in the same places. He [had] before chastized all the rebels, and *those that had favoured* [*by neglect*] *the rebels against his father, and had desolated (?) the country*, and had spoiled *the temples.*"

1.



.... *djt....* *u....*

The corresponding Greek for this group is, "those that have favoured [by neglect of their public duties."]*

The two first characters of the group are the letters *dj* and *t*. The last character, which is the determinative, is not very clearly engraved. There cannot be a doubt that it was meant for a bed, or couch; and that the group is the hieroglyphic transcription of the Coptic verb ϫⲧⲟ, "to lie down."

The next group of characters we shall find in other places, affecting verbs discoursing of actions of omission. The cross, which begins it, is the letter *u*, which was, doubtless, in pronunciation, affixed to the verb. The other two are the determinatives of the sense of this affix. The arm, with the club, is the symbol of action; and determines, in kind, many verbs denoting actions, especially of the arm. The following character is a cord tied. It is also the determinative of some words denoting binding, or obligation. The power of the affix *u*, is, therefore, denoted to be the loosing of a bond in a moral sense; and the verb which it affects expresses

* Τους ἀφησαμενους.

some culpable neglect of a duty, or obligation. It will be noticed by many readers, that the Greek word, ἀφησαμενους, has precisely the same import in one of its acceptations.

2.



....

This is the picture of a captive, with one arm bound to a stake, holding in the other some symbol of ignominy, and about to undergo the punishment of death. The three marks below are the sign of the plural, which is of very frequent occurrence. The Greek translation of this group is found in the words immediately following those already quoted from the twenty-seventh line, των αποστανταν. The two groups together, therefore, express in hieroglyphics the epithet in our translation, "those that had favoured the rebels."

3. 4. 5.



un-se *m-api-sne* *stm....* *....sne*

Group 3. The disadvantage and difficulty under which our endeavour to exhibit the use of hieroglyphics by the Rosetta inscription, labours from many causes, are very apparent in the phrase now before us. To those already enumerated, we are now compelled to add others. The hieroglyptic art was in a state of extreme degradation and decline in the days of the Ptolemies.

Texts of their epoch are, therefore, very carelessly engraven; and many of the characters, in consequence, so badly drawn, and so clumsily executed, that it is only by analogy and comparison that we are enabled to distinguish them. The language itself, also, was rapidly undergoing changes and corruptions; so that we occasionally find groups of common occurrence used with senses and powers, for examples of which we shall search in vain in texts of earlier and better epochs. Of this latter difficulty the present group is a notable instance. The import of the phrase is, "who had not obeyed their head or chief." The two first characters are the phonetic expression of the syllable *un*. It is used here with a sense altogether new. It would seem to represent the negative verbal prefix of the Coptic grammar ⲙⲛ, for which the ordinary expression is .* The two following characters, *se*, equally well illustrate the former difficulty. They are intended for the group which, it will be observed, terminates the other two words of which this sentence is composed. It ought to have been engraved thus, ; but the waved line, *n*, has been omitted by mistake. It reads *sne*, which is the pronoun of the third person plural, "they," or "their."

Group 4. The first character is the inseparable preposition of the Coptic grammar ⲙ, *em*. It has a very extensive range of meanings; here, it is the

* In line ii, groups 9, 14; line xii, groups 33, &c., we shall have to note upon other examples of the use of this corrupt form of the negative.

dative, "to." The next two characters are a man's head followed by the sign that it is to be read as a picture or symbol.* As in all other languages, it is constantly employed in hieroglyphics to denote a chief or sovereign. With the pronoun, *sne*, which terminates it, the group, therefore, reads, "to their chief or sovereign;" which has been loosely translated in the Greek, "against his father,"† the same monarch being the father of EPIPHANES, and the sovereign of the rebels.

Group 5. The first three characters, *stm*, are the consonants of the Coptic word ϲϢΤϢ, "to obey," "to yield obedience to." The two that follow are both determinatives of sense. The knot, or tie, denotes obligation; the two legs running, the active nature of the obedience required. The repetition of the pronoun is here the third person plural of the verb.

With the group that went before it, the import is, "the wicked who did not obey their sovereign," which the Greek loosely and paraphrastically renders, "the rebels against his father."

6.



....bke

This group is mutilated. Its Greek translation is, "and the country."‡ The "and" has most probably been expressed by *em*, here an abbreviation of

* These signs are and . They only occur in texts of late epochs.

† ἐπι του ἑαυτου πατρος. ‡ και την χωραν.

hem, "and." The first remaining character is the picture of a field intersected with channels for irrigation, conformably with the indispensable practice of Egyptian agriculture in all ages. The next character represents a cake of bread, such as was prepared for the table of prothesis, or shew-bread, in the temples of Egypt. Its Egyptian name was *bek*, a word still extant in the Coptic text, under the form of ϣⲓⲕ. This word is introduced by Herodotus, in a silly story, which he relates in the beginning of his second book, and which was told him by the Egyptian priests. But, as the drift of the story was to shew that the Egyptians were the oldest of all nations, his rascally dragoman, or interpreter, who was a Greek, of Asia Minor, mistranslated the narrative, so as to make it appear that βεκος was a Phrygian word, and therefore that the Phrygians were the oldest of all nations.* The Coptic word for city is also ⲃⲉⲕ or ⲃⲁⲕⲓ, *bek* or *baki*. It was the identity in sound of the two words that made the picture of a cake of bread, *bek*, the hieroglyphic symbol of *bek*, a city. All primitive divisions of the surface of the earth being, moreover, strictly subordinated to the cities which were built in each of them, and by the names of which they were invariably called, the symbol naturally included in itself both the city and the land subjected to the city; and thence its extended application in the hieroglyphic texts in the sense of "land" generally. The lines which complete the group, we have already explained to be the mark of the plural. The whole,

* Lib. ii., cap. 2.

therefore, reads, "the fields and the cities," *i.e.*, the entire country, conformably with the Greek την χωραν.

7.



shbt

This word is still more mutilated than the former; and what is yet more unfortunate, the surface of the block itself has sustained an injury by falling against the corner of another block of equally hard material, just in the place where the Greek word occurs that translates the group. Both, however, can be easily supplied. The hieroglyphic is by no means uncommon. The complete group is , which reads, *shbt*, the consonants of the Coptic word ϣⲉⲃⲧ, signifying, in its primitive acceptance, "change for the worse," "defacement,"—a sense more completely embodied in the kindred word from the same language, ϣⲱϥ, *shōf*, "to lay waste," "to make desolate." This restoration enables us, with equal certainty and satisfaction, to supply the missing portion of Greek, which stands thus, εν αντας. The portion defaced admits of five letters, which we supply with α ι ρ η σ, reading the word ἐναιρησαντας, "laying waste," "making desolate."

8.



em

The mutilation here is restored without difficulty. It is the owl, the homophon of the boat-stand, *em*, and,

like it, the abbreviation of *hem*, "and," which the Greek translates και.

9.



.....

Three ground plots of an Egyptian temple. Absolutely nothing remains of this restoration but the base lines. Yet it is so clearly indicated by the Greek τα ἱερα, "the temples," as not to admit of a doubt as to its reality. In its singular form, the character is , the plan of a large building with the symbol of divinity in it, to denote a temple. When thrice repeated, it means temples. This is a very common mode of expressing the plural.

We, therefore, present the reader with a complete analysis of the first line of the inscription, putting him in possession of the exact power and import of every character in it. Its meaning is,

"They who had by neglect favoured the wicked, who would not yield obedience to their sovereign, and the country they had desolated, and the temples."*

LINE II.

The preceding portion of this fragment failed us about the middle of the twenty-seventh line of the translation. In the part before us, we find ourselves far in the twenty-ninth line.

* The Greek translation of this passage is in the twenty-seventh line, thus: τους ἀζηαμενους των ἀποστατων ἐπι του ἰδιου πατρος, και την χωραν ἐναιρησαντας και τα ἱερα.

1. 2.



....*f* *rto*

This commencement of the remains of the second line consists of the two concluding groups of a long sentence, which begins in the twenty-eighth line, commemorating the liberality of EPIPHANES, in entirely remitting a large sum in gold and silver, being an arrearage of eight years accumulation of a tax imposed upon the temples, which formed a part of the royal revenue. The passage reads, "to his majesty in the country or district." Doubtless, the glebe land of the temples is here spoken of, and the part which the king claimed by law, but remitted.

The sentence, of which the remainder of this second line contains a part of the hieroglyphic original, has been translated into Greek thus: "*In like manner, he* (EPIPHANES) *remitted the unpresented offerings to the royal residence of linen garments, and of those which had been presented,* [he remitted] the re-placement of *such as were different from the pattern.*

3.



shsh-ru

The first character is a weight, with the cord by which it was suspended from the beam of the balance. It represents, as will be seen by the alphabet, (No. 152,) the articulation *sh;* and, habitually combined

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE II.



	1	2	3	4	
	..f	*rto*	*shsh-ru*	*m*	
Trans.	to his majesty	in the country.	Like unto them	also	
GRK.	lines 29, 30.		ὡσαυτως	δι	και



	5	6	7	8
	tl	*n...*	*rta-r*	*st-et*
	the fines	of oxen, geese, wine, and linen,	to be given to	the palace
	τας τιμας	βυσσινων ὀθονιων	εἰς	το βασιλικον



	9	10	11	12
	un-shl	*m-eti-bku*	*ha*	*n-u*
	which had been fraudulently withheld	from houses and lands	also	those which were brought & delivered in
	μη συντετιλεσμενων		και	των συντετιλεσμενων



	13	14	15
	mnĕ - u	*tr-n-sne*	*nfru...*
	[with] the pattern	did not agree	well
	τα προς τον δειγματισμον	διαφορα	

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with the reed,  *e*, it exactly reproduces the Coptic word, ϣϵ, *she*, "to weigh," "to measure;" and its very obvious derivative, ϣⲁⲩ, *shau*, "equal," "like." Neither of these words, nor any derivative from them, are ever employed as particles in the Coptic texts. But in the hieroglyphic texts, of all ages, their equivalent scarcely occurs with any other import. It represents all the particles of kindred meaning; such are, "likewise," "in the same manner," "as," used comparatively, &c. The two polishers are supposed by Champollion* to denote that the preceding character is to be repeated, and that the group is to be read, *shsh*. Such reduplications are very common with Egyptian words. In what way the sense of the word reduplicated is affected by this change, we do not yet clearly understand. It will be observed, that this initial also symbolizes its own meaning, besides expressing it by a sound. The three mouths are the plural of the Coptic word ⲣⲟ, *ro*, "a mouth," which, constantly in the Coptic texts, and frequently in the hieroglyphic, is written ⲣⲱⲟⲩ  *rōou*, "mouths." The use of this group, in the connection before us, is an example of a strictly singular peculiarity of the ancient Egyptian language, the full elucidation of which belongs rather to a grammar than to a history. It is enough for our present purpose to explain, that of all the modes of expressing thought by written characters that ever were invented, it is the most throughly material. It is, in fact, thought incorporate. In the present instance, a motion, or direction towards

* Dictionary, p. 422.

the subject of speech has to be expressed. The coarse, clumsy device by which the inventors of the Egyptian language obtained an expression for it, is, "into the mouth." "Into their mouths," ερωοτ, is the only Coptic phrase for "into," or "unto them." It was the same in the hieroglyphics. The import of the group before us is, "like unto them," *i.e.*, in the same manner; in the Greek translation, ὡσαυτως δε has exactly the same meaning.

4. 5.



m *tl*

Group 4. This character, which is the writing reed, will be found in the alphabet (No. 74,) as one of the homophons for *m*. Here, and elsewhere, in this and other Ptolemaic texts, it replaces the owl, or the boat-stand, as the representative of *hem*, "and."

Group 5. The two first characters, *tl*, are the consonants of the Coptic word ταλο, "an imposition," "an oblation to a temple." The knotted cord, or bundle, followed by the mark of symbolism, is the determinative; and, as we have already explained, denotes obligation. The Greek translation is exact; τας τιμας, "the fines," "the impositions."

6.



n....

Group 6. The very degraded condition of the hieroglyptic art, in the times of this inscription,

is abundantly illustrated in the group before us. The rude blotches which compose it could only have been restored to significance by comparison with texts of a better age. Precisely at this point, also, the Greek fails us; and instead of rendering the text faithfully, records the facts as they were. The group restored stands thus, . Its import is well known. The first character is the abbreviation of *nte*, "of." The rest are symbols of frequent occurrence. They read, "oxen, geese, wine, (or milk,) and linen." In these kinds, all state impositions civil and religious were paid in Egypt from the foundation of the monarchy, and in many cases continued to be so paid until its extinction; but, in the tax of which the present sentence discourses, this payment in kind had been commuted for a certain number of linen garments, to be delivered in to the royal household. It was, doubtless, for this reason, that, instead of translating the old formula, which, of course, was retained in the hieroglyphics, the Greek confines itself to the facts of the case, and renders the whole group by the words βυσσινων ὀθονιων, "of linen garments," the payment actually remitted by the bounty of EPIPHANES.

7. 8.



rta-r *st-et*

Group 7. The three first characters are the letters *rta*, the hieroglyphic transcription of the Coptic word

ορϭ, or τρϭ, *tre*, with a transposition of the letters which compose it, of which we have constant examples in other words. The original meaning of this word is "to make," "to give;" which it frequently retains in both transcriptions of the ancient Egyptian language. The following character, (the mouth,) we have explained to have the power of "to," "towards," and equally in both transcriptions. It is rendered in the Greek by the preposition εἰς, "to."

Group 8. In Greek το βασιλικον, "the palace," or the "royal residence." The first character in this group represents a plant. It has (see alphabet, No. 113,) the phonetic power of *s*. It is also the symbol of royalty, as is well known from innumerable examples. It is, moreover, of very frequent occurrence, combined with an appellative, as in the present instance, when it has invariably the sense of "royal," "belonging to the king." The polisher, which is the next following character, is the sign of symbolism affecting the picture below, which is the ground-plot of an Egyptian house, and of exceedingly common use, with the sense of "habitation," "residence," "a house." The group, therefore, reads, "the royal residence," like the Greek.

9. 10.



un-shl



m-eti-bku

Group 9. The phonetic power of the two first characters of this passage we have already explained

to be *un*.* They here, also, represent the negative *nne* by the same corrupt usage. The two next characters will be found by the alphabet to be, *shl*, the consonants of the Coptic word ϣⲟⲗ, *shol*, "to spoil," "to defraud." The group, therefore, means, "which were not [paid] fraudulently," or "through fraud;" and translates the Greek των μη συντετελεσμενων, "which had not been paid."

Group 10. This is, like most of those which consist of several small characters, vilely engraven and clumsily arranged. The first character is *em*, "from," which is one of the many powers of the corresponding Coptic prefix, ⲙ. The rest of the group consists of the symbols of habitation and land, both affected by the mark of the plural. It, therefore, means, "from houses and lands." In the Greek translation it is not expressed.

11.



ha

These two characters read by the alphabet, *hā*. They represent here, and everywhere, the Coptic word, ϩⲱ, "also," "moreover." The Greek translates it, και.

12.



n-u

The blot, which partly defaces the first character in this group, is a mistake of the hieroglypt. He had about half finished the engraving of an owl,

* Line i. group 3.

when he discovered his error. The character itself, *n*, is an abbreviation of the plural relative pronoun or article, *nai*, "which," or "those which." The powers of the next three characters we have already explained.* They mean here, "brought and delivered in." I strongly suspect that this use of two symbols is another corruption to which no parallel will be found in texts of better epochs. The Greek translates the entire group, των συντετελεσμενων, "of those which were paid, or offered."

13.



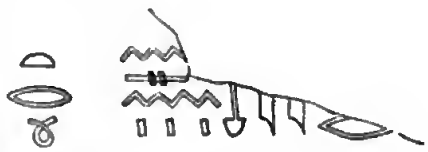
mnē-u

The first three characters here read *mnē*, by the alphabet, which are the three principal letters of the kindred Coptic words, ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ, "a token," and ⲙⲛⲏ, "a mode, or form of existence." There cannot, therefore, be a doubt that this is the word which the Greek translates τον δειγματισμον, "the pattern." The power of the following group is already known to the reader as the expression of legal obligation. It is here affixed to the preceding to denote that the pattern, after which the linen garments to be supplied to the royal household in payment of the impost in question were to be cut out, was one prescribed by religion, and from which no deviation was, on any account, to be permitted; so that, in strict law, the king had obviously the power of enforcing the repayment of the tax, in every case in which he could prove that the garments delivered in, deviated, in any degree,

Line i. group 5.

from this pattern, which was, most probably, hung up in some temple, where few of the actual payers of the impost would have the opportunity of seeing it. The Greek of this group, therefore, is προς τον δειγματισμον.

14. 15.



tr-n-sne *nfru*

Group 14. The first two characters, *tr*, are the Coptic word, ταρ, *tar*, "height," "size," "dimensions," allied to the Hebrew roots טיר and תיר, both meaning, primarily, "a series," "succession of similar objects." With the symbol of legal obligation, therefore, it means, "to correspond," "co-ordinate with." The next group our readers will already understand to be grammatical forms affecting the preceding word. The first character is the negative prefix of the Coptic grammar, but, as before, in an irregular and corrupt form.* It is here *n*, instead of . With *sne*, the third person plural of the verb, it therefore reads, "they did not co-ordinate."†

Group 15. The mutilation of the remaining part of this passage is easily supplied. It is the lute, "good," followed by the two leaves, the sign of its use adverbially. The whole, therefore, reads, "did not match or

* Line i. group 5 ; line ii. group 9.

† Such plainly appears, by the meaning of the group, to be the import of the first *n*. I translate it thus, rather than by *nsna*, the third person plural of the past. See also line xii. 33.

agree well with" the pattern. It is vaguely translated by the Greek τα διαφορα, "different" [from the pattern].

The whole line reads, "to his Majesty in the land. In the same manner [he remitted] the imposts of oxen, geese, milk, and linen, which were due to the royal palace, and were not [paid] through fraud, both from houses and lands; also, of those which had been paid [he remitted the repayment of] those which did not match the prescribed pattern."*

LINE III.

Another considerable mutilation, amounting to something more than half a line, occurs between the end of the second and the commencement of the third line. By this fracture we are brought into the middle of the thirty-first line of the Greek translation, wherein PTOLEMY EPIPHANES is commended for having made large presents to Apis and Mnevis, the sacred bulls of Memphis and Heliopolis, and also to the other sacred animals of Egypt, more than had been given by any of the kings, his predecessors. It is at the termination of this phrase that the portion of the original we possess commences.

1.



....

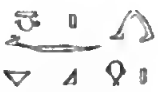
Group 1 is mutilated. The two last characters are used in other texts as the sign of duality.

* The Greek, which, as we have seen, is a scoliast, or commentary, rather than a translation, reads thus, ωσαυτως δε και τας τιμας των μη συντετελεσμενων εις το βασιλικον βυσσινον δθ...(line 29;) αν και των συντετελεσμενων τα προς τον δειγματισμον διαφορα (Line 30.)

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE III.

1	2	3	4	5
				
.....		*nh-sh m.....*	*hru*	*riri-sna*
Trans.	shrine	all things providing	beyond	their due
GRK.	line 31.	φροντιζων	ὑπερ	των ἀνηκοντων αυτα

6	7	8	9
			
an-apu	*htf-nt-hi*	*mu sne*	*sht-nb*
of the best	he devoted to	their funerals	in all things
line 32. τα τε καθηκοντα	ε's	ταις ταφαις αὐτων	

10	11	12	13
			
rla-n	*r-sht-nb*	*djer*	*sne*
giving in	all things	bountifully.	[That which] they brought
δ.δους	δαψιλως και	ἐνδοξως	και τα τιλισκομενα

14	15	16	17
			
er shui	*tsf sne*	*hl-ub*	*ber-ut*
to altars	their own	of old	anew
εις τα ἱερα	ἰδια		

18	19	20	21
			
.....	*hf-snsh*	*sne*	*au*
he brought	for nourishment	their	and [the] temples?
line 31. ἐ δωρησατο			

The line which precedes them was, doubtless, the handle of the hatchet, which so frequently occurs elsewhere in the inscription, and in all hieroglyphic texts, as the symbol of "god" or "divinity." The two sacred bulls were therefore spoken of. The group with the hatchet, fully transcribed, stood thus, .* The name of this hatchet is shown hereby to have been *nouter*. It acquired its symbolic acceptation of "divine," merely from the circumstance that the same word was used in the Egyptian language with the meaning of god, a word which is still retained in the Coptic texts, with the very common elision of the final *r*, ноутє. It is for the same reason that the group , *nofre*, signifies goodness. *Nofre* was also the ancient Egyptian name for the lute; of which we have a very obvious transcription in the Hebrew appellative for the same instrument, נֵבֶל a lute.

2.



....

Our next character is the picture of one of the shrines or chapels in which the sacred animals were kept during the hours of worship in the temple. The form of these dens or cages is very exactly given. They were generally monolith; that is, chiselled out of one block. The small mark on the top of the architrave is the cobra or uræus, which was the symbol both of divinity and sovereignty among

* See Alphabet, No. 93.

the ancient Egyptians, . So entirely ignorant were the artists of Egypt of perspective or any other art of representing solids on a flat surface, that this single snake at the end of the architrave was their only mode of expressing in a picture, that a row of such snakes standing together as close as possible, formed the decoration of the four sides of the entire architrave. There is a fine example of a similar shrine, with the same decoration, in the British Museum. It is of the age of Pharoah NECHO, and very elaborately executed in green basalt. The two sides now in the musuem * were presented by King George III., on the occasion of the purchase of the nucleus of the present collection from Sir Ashton Lever. By a very rare concurrence of chances, a third side of the same shrine was dug up about three years ago, during some excavations that were carrying on for defensive purposes, at the command of Ibrahim Pacha, without the Moharrem gate of Alexandria. This shrine was the cage of the sacred ibis. The holes through which staves were introduced, for the purpose of carrying it in processions, very carefully perforated, still remain in one of the sides in the museum, and in that at Alexandria.

The two groups have, doubtless, read, "the shrines of both divinities," that is, both of Apis and Mnevis. The benefits he conferred upon them have preceded their names, and that of their shrine, in the hieroglyphics; in the Greek, they follow.

* See Bonomi and Arundell's "Gallery of Antiquities," Part ii., plate 45.

The next complete phrase is,

3. 4. 5.



nb-sh-m.... *hru* *r-iri-sne*

The Greek translation is, "caring for them beyond those things that pertain to them, (*i.e.*, are their right,) [the sacred animals], in all things."* We proceed with our analysis.

Group 3. The first character is perfectly written thus, . It is a basket woven with reeds of different colours. Its ancient name was *neb*, a word which may still be traced in the Coptic verb нотвє, "to weave, or plait." But the same articulation, *neb*, also signified in the ancient Egyptian, as in the existing Coptic, *lord*, and *the whole of anything;* that is, "all." On this account, only, the basket became the symbol of the words *lord* and *all*, as well as a picture of itself; or, to state the case more precisely, the basket in the text represents the word *neb*, with all its three significations. In the instance before us, its Greek translation is, διὰ παντος, "in all things," affording us another instance in which the last expression of the Greek translation is the first of the hieroglyphic original. The two following characters , are by no means of uncommon occurrence; and long before the familiarity of Champollion with the texts enabled him to analyze this group, his sagacity had discovered its meaning. It is to Samuel Birch that we are indebted for its full

* φροντιζων ὑπιρ των ἀνηκοντων αὐτα διὰ παντος. Line 31, 32.

transcription .* It was pronounced *shash*, a word still to be found in the Coptic vocabulary with the kindred meaning of "to scourge," "to avenge," "to overlook." It will be observed, that the last character, the arm with the scourge, determines the sense. It translates the Greek word φροντιζων "caring for," "minding," "attending to."

Group 4. The four following characters (groups 3, 4,) constitute one group, , *mhru*, the meaning of which Champollion detected from a comparison of passages from many monuments in which it occurs untranslated, though, singularly enough, he overpassed this where it is translated. The Greek rendering is, ὑπερ, "besides," "over and above," as he rightly renders it.† Its pronunciation would be *em-hro*, which he refers, with great probability, to the Coptic root, ϩρ, or ϩοτρω, "to neglect," "omit."

Group 5. The two first characters, the mouth and the eye, compose a group which is very frequently used in texts of all ages; and, amongst others, in that now before us, where it has the invariable sense of "performing a religious rite," "celebrating a religious festival." The two characters frequently change places in different transcriptions, without any change in the sense. The eye alone, which is the commonest form of this group, represents the Coptic word ειρε, "to do," "perform." When accompanied by the mouth, it

* Egypt's Place, p. 530. Ideogr., No. 522.

† See Grammaire Egyptienne, p. 505.

becomes a passive, as in the present instance. Affected by the sign of the third person plural, the whole group means, "the rites that are performed," *i.e.*, ordinarily. The entire passage we find, therefore, to mean, "over and above the accustomed worship" of the sacred animals, which the Greek translates correctly, though by no means literally.

6.	7.	8.	9.
			
an-apu	*htf-uthi*	*mu-sne*	*sht-nb*

The coarse, unskilful execution of the inscription combines, in this place, with the very loose, and merely proximate rendering of the Greek, to introduce a difficulty which we shall scarcely be able to unravel. The Greek is, "and the things that belong to their funerals."*

Group 6. If the shapeless blots which stand below the waved line retain any traces of the artist's intention in making them, the termination of the group must be restored thus, . The analysis of this group is difficult, because the characters are ill-drawn and uncertain. The leaf, and waved line *en*, are the Coptic preposition of the same sound; one of whose meanings is, "from," "out of." The human head, taken symbolically, we have already found to mean, "chief," "first," "best." The arm, with the mark of the plural, is, so far as I know, a group the occurrence of which

* τα τε καθηκοντα εἰς τας ταφας αὐτων. Line 22.

is confined to this place only. If there be not some blunder, if the copy before the hieroglypt did not read , the commonest plural termination, (which I strongly suspect,) we must interpret the arm as the symbol of possession, and read the group, "from the best of the things he possessed." If we adopt the emendation I have suggested, it will mean, "with the best things;" or, adverbially, "excellently."

Group 7. The characters of this group are really illegible, especially the fourth and fifth, and can only be supplied by conjecture. The three first seem to be,  ; that is, the heart, or stomach, of a man, with the sign of symbolism. Followed by the snake, *f*, (which is the masculine possessive pronoun of the third person singular, "his,") they exactly transcribe the Coptic word ⲃⲏⲧϥ, *chetf*, "in him;" literally, "in his stomach." The two legs running, we shall immediately find recurring, with the sense of "bringing to the shrine of divinity." It is its primitive meaning, inasmuch as it was a prescribed usage for persons bringing offerings to *run* up to the image of the god,—a scene of very common occurrence among the pictures of ancient Egypt. We, therefore, read the passage conjecturally, (assuming the two blotted characters to be *ut*, the past participial affix, which is very probable,) "having devoted of the best he had."

Group 7. The two last characters are *hi*, Coptic ϩⲁ, "to."*

Group 8. The three upper characters are ostrich feathers, the symbol of justice, or justification, as we have already explained. They are followed by *sne*, "their." In the belief of ancient Egypt, the entire ceremony of the funeral, from the commencement of the process of embalming, to the final deposit of the mummy in its tomb, was an essential and indispensable part of the series of religious and moral actions, upon the performance of which, the acquittal or justification of the deceased at the bar of Divine justice altogether depended. It is on this account that the epithet, "justified," is invariably applied in the tombs to the dead, after the completion of the ceremonies of their sepulture. We here find that the same notion was extended to the sacred animals also, and that, by a grammatical figure, the ostrich feather is, for these reasons, made to symbolize the funeral ceremonies. This use of it, however, we believe to be a corruption of the late and bad era of Egyptian art of the present monument. To the best of our knowledge and belief, it is never so applied in texts of an earlier date.

Group 9. We have again to complain of a slovenly text. Not only are the characters vilely engraved, but one of the commonest groups in the entire inscription is mis-spelt. We merely correct and restore it at present . The meaning is, "in all things." The Greek does not translate, but includes it in its import.

* "Dictionnaire Hieroglyphique," (Champollion,) 56.

The analysis we will give immediately. The entire passage seems to read, "having devoted of the best he had in all things to their funerals," *i. e.* "of the sacred animals." The Greek resembles the original in nothing but the import.

10. 11. 12.





rta-n *r-sht-nb* *djer*

The Greek fails us here also. The translator has contented himself with a proximate sense in the phrases of his own tongue.

Group 10. The first three characters we know already* as an auxiliary, in the sense of "making," "offering." It is translated here δίδους, "giving." The next, *n*, is again the abbreviation of *nte*, "of."

Group 11. The first character, the mouth, *r*, is the abbreviation of *hr*, "with," or "in." The import of the following characters, we have already explained to be "all," or, "all things." The two first read *sht*, or *cht*. They have been supposed to represent the Coptic pronoun ϫϵⲧ, *chet*, which in that language means, "other," "the rest." In all ancient hieroglyphic texts, however, without exception, *cht* is used with the sense of "all." The basket, which has also the meaning "all," is used here intensively. The group reads, "in all things he possessed."

Group 12 is, letter for letter, the Coptic word, ϫⲉⲣ,

* Line ii. group 7.

djer, "to dissipate," to "spread abroad." We, therefore, translate it, "bountifully."

The phrase reads "Making offerings in all things bountifully," which the Greek translates, διδους δαψιλως και ενδοξως "giving bountifully and honourably," which is an expansion of the meaning of the original, substituted for a literal translation, for the sake of hellenism.

13. 14. 15. 16. 17.



sne *er shui* *tsf-sne* *hl-ut* *ber-ut*

18. 19. 20. 21.



..... *nf-snsh* *sne* *au*

This passage is thus translated by the Greek: "And the things devoted" (literally, "prostituted,") "to their own peculiar temples, with sacrifices and festivals, and the rest of the lawful ceremonies."* This we shall find merely gives the scope of the passage. The original is scarcely regarded, doubtless for the sake of brevity. The Greek, as it stands, is nearly twice as long as the original it translates.

Group 13. "They gave [were given] to the gods," "devoted." (See above, ii. 12.)

Group 14. The mouth is the prefix, *ere*, noting the beginning of a new proposition; it is followed by the picture of two altars.

* και τα τελισκομενα εις τα ιδια ιερα μετα θυσιων και παναγυριων και των αλλων των νομιζομενων. Line 32.

Group 15. The snake, with the sign of symbolism, has been ascertained by Mr. Birch to denote, by some figure not yet explained, the notions of "property," "identity." Followed, therefore, by the pronoun of the third person plural, the two groups read, "the things that were peculiar to their own altars," *i.e.*, "to the altars of each."

Group 16 is also well known as the transcription of the Coptic word, ϩⲗⲗⲟ, *hello*, "old." Affected, as here, by the participial afformant, *ut*, it reads, "of old."

Group 17. Here we have once more to complain of indistinct execution. After long consideration we restore this illegible place thus,  *ber-ut*, in which are all the principal letters of the Coptic word, ⲃⲉⲣⲓ, *beri*, "new." With the adverbial affix, it, therefore, reads, "newly," or "anew."

Group 18 is a common one in texts of all ages. It means, "to bring." The waved line, and the snake, in the next group, 19, belong to this word, being the verbal inflexion of the past tense, third person singular. The meaning is, therefore, "he [the king] brought, offered."

Group 19. The final character is given imperfectly. In better texts it stands thus, . It represents the two arms of a man, holding the peculiarly formed little vase, out of which the male attendants of infants and young children gave milk to their charges. It means everywhere, "to tend," "to feed." Followed by the pronoun of the third person plural, the meaning will be, "to nourish them," *i.e.*, the sacred animals.

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE IV.

1	2	3	4	5	6
					
hat	*ha*	*ubu*	*hlu*	*hr-sht-nb*	*she*
Trans. silver	and	purifications	old	in all things	according to
GRK. l. 33. τα	τε τιμια	των ἱερων			ἀκολουθως

7	8	9	10	11
				
ash-sne	*re-et*	*smsh-nte*	*hp-enh*	*ha*
their laws.	And the temple	feeding of	the living Apis	wit
τοις νομοις	Και	το Απιδι		

12	13	14	15	1
				
smnk	*an*		*mk*	*ut*
works	of	decoration	[and] construction,	white
ἐργοις		πολυτελεσιν		

17	18	19	20	21
				
n-mu	*nfrm*	*sm...*	*s sha-nf*	*hp-enh*
and colored,	twice fair,	duly consecrated,	he devoted to	the living Apis (i.e.) him
			κατεσκευασεν	

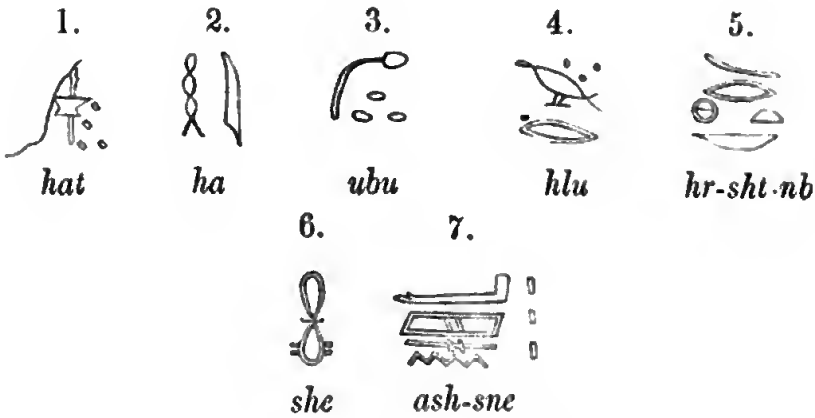
22	23	24	25
			
r-sa-nf		...*m-un-el*	*shu...*
he supplied	the temple	precious metals and wrought stones abundance	
χορηγησας	εἰς αὐτο	χρυσιου τε και. l. 34. λιθων πολυτελων	πληθος οὐκ ὀλιγον

The whole passage reads, "the things that belonged to the altars of each of them [*i.e.*, the sacred bulls] of old, he offered anew for their nourishment."

The Greek, it will be perceived, describes the same act of bounty, but takes another view of the ceremonial, more suitable for convenient expression in its own idiom. Certain revenues of the sacred bulls had, doubtless, been desecrated to their own personal use by some of the predecessors of EPIPHANES.

The mutilated groups, 20, 21, that remain of the third line, are the commencement of the Greek sentence next following, τα τε τιμια των ἱερων, "also the revenues of the temples." The first group is *au*, "and," "also." The symbol of divinity, and the ground plot of the temple, are the remains of a group which denoted "temples."

LINE IV.



This is the conclusion of the same sentence, of which the beginning remained at the end of the preceding line. It reads thus: "He [EPIPHANES] also has carefully preserved the revenues of the temples, and of Egypt,

on the same basis, according to the laws."* Here also enough remains of the original to show abundantly that the Greek translator has consulted the taste of his hellenic readers, far more than comported with a close and faithful rendering of the text before him. We translate this fragment verbally:—"Silver (1), conformably with (2) the ancient (4) purifications (3), in all things (5), according to (6) their laws (7)." As might have been anticipated, the word "revenues," in the translation, has been substituted for the distinct specification of the various payments in kind, due to the temples, and of the ceremonies with which the payments of them were to be accompanied, in the original.

We proceed to analyze the groups of this passage.

Group 1 is the well-known symbol of silver. It is composed of the cloth in which the auriferous sand was shaken for the purpose of separating the gold-dust. . This is the symbol of gold. When combined with the young onion, which denotes "whiteness," or "white," it reads "white gold," that is, "silver," . In the perfect transcriptions of these very common characters, they are accompanied by the three grains, or particles, which follow all words denoting metals, and other hard mineral substances.

Group 2 reads *ha*, "and," "with," as in the Coptic grammar.

Group 3. The vase of purification, from which the sacred water of the Nile was poured by the priests

* τα τε τιμια των ἱερων και της Αιγυπτου διατετηρηκεν ἐπι χωρας ἀκολουθως τοις νομοις. Line 33.

upon the heads of the sacrificers, and their victims, when they first entered upon the sacred precincts of the temples. It is here written in its abbreviated plural form. We shall soon have a better opportunity of displaying its analysis. It is used here, and in many other places, as the symbol of all ceremonies of purification connected with the ritual of the Egyptian temple service.

Group 4. *Hello*, "old," followed by the plural, the number of the preceding group, which it qualifies.

Group 5. The first character of this group is a tongue protruded. It is only in texts of this late and degraded period that it replaces the chain, or twisted cord, to represent the letter *h*.* With the following character, it expresses the principal sounds of the word *hra;* in Coptic, ϩⲣ or ϩⲣⲁ, "with," "in." The remainder of the group is already known to the reader as "all," "all things."

Group 6 is the first character of the already explained group *she*, "like." It is here used with the kindred meaning "according to," "conformably to." Greek, ἀκολουθως.

Group 7. The first two characters will be found by the alphabet to spell the syllable *osh*, which is the Coptic word ⲱϣ, "proclamation," "edict." Affected by the plural pronoun, of the third person, the whole reads, "according to their laws," the clause loosely translated in the Greek, "according to the laws." The fact that every temple in Egypt had its own peculiar

* See "Grammaire Hieroglyphique" (Champollion), pp. 471, 473.

calendar of festivals and ritual worship, would be one in which the Greek readers of the inscription would take but little interest.

The remainder of this line has been subjected, by the translator, to the same hellenizing process; so that the verbal agreements with the original are by no means frequent or striking. We shall best compare the two passages by citing both in their integrity.

8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
				
re-et	*snsh-nte*	*hp-enh*	*ha*	*smnk*

13.	14.	15.	16.	17.
				
an		*m-kt*	*ut*	*n-mu*

18.	19.	20.	21.
			
nfru	*sm....*	*s-sha-nf*	*hp-enh*

The Greek translates this passage thus: "Also he adorned the Apæum (the temple of the bull Apis, at Memphis,) with very sumptuous works;"* a sentence, the very construction of which seems to indicate that it merely gives the scope of the original, without any attempt at literal rendering. The analysis of that original will abundantly confirm this indication.

It may be noticed, that in the passage immediately

* και το Απιειον ἐργοις πολυτελεσιν κατεσκευασεν. Line 33.

preceding, EPIPHANES is praised for his care of the animal temples of Egypt generally. His liberality towards the Apæum, in particular, is the praise conferred upon him in the one before us.

Group 8. The first character (the mouth) represents the word *ere;* in Coptic, ⲉⲣⲉ; a particle, denoting the commencement of a new subject, but scarcely admitting of translation into any other language. It is the καὶ of the Greek translation. The rest is the habitual expression for "temple," "residence of a god."

Group 9. The first three characters, *snsh*, make the Coptic word, ⲥⲁⲛϫ, *sansh*, "to feed," "to nourish." It qualifies the preceding group. The meaning is, "the feeding temple," "the divine crib." The three following letters, *nte*, are of frequent occurrence, and with the ascertained meaning of the corresponding Coptic relative, ⲛⲧⲉ, "that," "which."* It is frequently used in both texts with the meaning, "which belongs to."

Group 10. *Hp*, *i.e.*, Apis, with the symbol of life, "the living Apis."

The whole reads, "and the divine crib of the living Apis;" which the Greek renders, "and the Apæum."

Group 11 will be familiar to the reader.† It is *ha*, "with," with an homophonic change, which well illustrates this peculiarity of the hieroglyphic system.

Group 12 is a degraded and barbarous transcription of one of very frequent occurrence in texts of all ages; and the meaning of which had been perfectly ascertained without the assistance of the passage before us. The

* Grammaire, pp. 304, seq. † Above, line ii., group 2, &c.

first character is *s*, with the transitive or relative power. It exactly corresponds, both in use and sense, to the Coptic verbal prefix, ⲥⲁ. The last character is the chisel used by the sculptors of ancient Egypt. In texts of a better epoch than this its form is perfectly preserved . In a very ancient inscription at Beni-hassan, in Middle Egypt, the group before us is the habitual abbreviation of another group, the meaning of which is perfectly obvious, . *Smnch*, the consonants of the Coptic word ⲥⲙⲟⲩⲛⲕ, *smounk*, "to engrave," "to construct," determined by the sculptor's, or mason's, mallet. It means, therefore, "works of construction," generally; and is the original of the Greek translation ἔργοις.

Group 13. *An.* The genitive "of." *Dict.* 199.

Group 14. The first character is a purifying jar, used on occasions of especial solemnity. It is, for this reason, the symbol of the Divine purity, as we shall frequently see in the course of the inquiry before us. It is followed by a sitting female figure, carrying a basket full of earth, or stones, upon her head; the only mode in which heavy objects are transported in Egypt to this day. Thus determined, the jar denotes the sculptures, or reliefs, representing the gods and their attributes, with which the walls of the Egyptian temples were covered.

Group 15. The first character is *m*, "and." The two next read, *kt*, the consonants of the Coptic word, ⲕⲧ, "building," "construction," followed again by the

woman with the basket, the habitual determinative of this and all other words denoting actions which demand a large amount of human drudgery. Together, the two groups read, "of decoration and construction."

Group 16. The first character is the young onion. The polisher is its mark of symbolism. The group, therefore, reads, "white," "shining," "illustrious;" like its Coptic equivalent, ⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ, *ouobch;* which is the translation everywhere of the Greek words λευκος, "white," and λαμπρος, "shining," in the Coptic Bible.

Group 17. The first character is *n*, "and." The two following are the common abbreviation of a well-known group of frequent occurrence, , *moue;* in Coptic, ⲙⲟⲩⲉ, "splendour."* The last character represents a roll of papyrus tied up. It does not affect the sense, being very frequently inserted at the end of groups of hieroglyphics merely for the sake of calligraphy.

Group 18 is already known to our readers.† It is "twice fair," that is, "very fair."

Group 19. *Sm*, determined by the symbols of law and justice. The word *sm*, is very frequent in the hieroglyphic texts with the sense of "sacrifice," "religious ceremony." The Coptic texts have preserved it in ⲥⲙⲟⲩ, "to bless." Thus determined, it denotes "duly consecrated."

These seven words are rendered in the Greek translation by the one adjective, πολυτελεσιν, "very sumptuous."

* Champollion's Dictionnaire, p. 338. Grammaire, p. 440.

† Above p. 29, &c., line ii. group 13.

The next group, 20, is also well known without the assistance of the place before us.* It reads, *s-shō*, the transitive form of the Coptic word ϣω, "the summit," "to elevate." In this place, "to crown," "to decorate with a crown." It is, therefore, translated in the Greek, κατεσκευασεν, "he adorned."

The twenty-first and last group of the phrase repeats the name of the god whose temple is the subject of it. It stands in the place of "him," by an universal rule of the hieroglyphic texts. When a god is spoken of, his name is scarcely ever embodied in a pronoun. Groups 20 and 21, therefore, read together, "he adorned him," [Apis] or, as we should say, "it," (the temple.)

The import of the sentence is as follows: "Also, he adorned the Divine crib (temple), of the living Apis, [even] Apis himself, with works of decoration and construction, shining, or 'white,' [and] illustrious, or 'coloured,' [and] very fair.

22. 23. 24. 25.



r-nsa-nf *....m-nn-et* *shu*

The Greek of this passage "supplying to it (the Apæum) no small quantity of gold, and silver,"† (line 34,) "and precious stones." This translation resembles the preceding one. It is a scholion, designed to

* Grammaire, p. 440.

† χορηγησας εις αὐτο χρυσιου τι και...(The end of the thirty-third line is mutilated here.) Line 34, ου και λιθων πολυτελων πληθος οὐκ ὀλιγον.

make the meaning of the passage intelligible to an Alexandrian Greek. Far from anything like a literal rendering, there is scarcely a word in the sentence which is translated at all.

Group 22. The first character (the mouth,) is the prefix ερο. If, in a word of frequent occurrence, it be permitted to correct a very faulty text by comparing it with better transcriptions, the last character of this first part of the group is an error. Instead of , it ought to have been , which we have already explained * to be the roll of papyrus, merely added for the sake of pictorial effect.

The following character represents the fillet or head-band, the use of which, as an initial, we have already explained. It was called *nese;* and in texts of a better age the group stands thus, .† The awkward displacement of this character is, most probably, a mistake of the hieroglypt of the Rosetta inscription, which he corrects by writing it afterwards, and inserting above it the sign of symbolism. The last two characters of the group, *nf*, are the afformant of the past tense, third person singular. The meaning of the group, therefore, is, "he bound," "attached to;" (one of the commonest acceptations of the group, *nese*, in the hieroglyphic texts. The Coptic equivalent is ΗCA, "after," "following;") in Greek, χορηγησας, "supplying."

Group 23. "Temples," which the Greek translates, εἰς αὐτο, "to it," avoiding the tautology.

* Above, p. 95. † Alphabet. No. 90. See, also, p. 42.

Group 24. The first character is the picture of one of those rings of gold or silver which was the ordinary and universal form of bullion in ancient Egypt. The next character is *em*, "and."* Then follow the two hands of a man in the act of letting fall what they have grasped, which is the sign of negation. Combined with the two following characters, , it would seem to be an expression for an ornament of stone introduced into a building, but no actual part of the building itself. Such are tablets in relief, statues, &c. It is the rendering of this group by λιθων πολυτελων. *i. e.*, "beautifully wrought stones," which suggests this interpretation.† The plural mark which concludes the group affects the whole of it. This single group, therefore, has been expanded by the Greek translation into "gold and silver, and wrought stones," the liberality and munificence of a Greek king of Egypt being far more likely to interest his hellenic readers, than the niceties of the Egyptian language, or the peculiarities of the Egyptian ritual.

Group 25. The Coptic word, ϣⲟ, "a thousand," constantly used in hieroglyphic texts of all ages, in the sense of "plenty," "abundance." It is the πληθος ουκ ὀλιγον, "no small quantity," of the Greek translation.

* Dictionnaire, p. 298. † See Grammaire, p. 519.

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE V.

1 2 3 4 5



ntr *aseu* *stu* *rta-nf* *ntr*

Trans. temples most honoured of both Egypts. Therefore to him the gods and goddesses

GRK., l. 35. ἱερων τα τιμιωτατα ἐπι της βασιλειας : ἀνθ' ὡν οἱ θ εοι

6 7 8 9 10



...n *sht ..* *enh-ts* *hr-sht-nb* *nfr*

strength, victory, health, with all good things

κρατος νικην ὑγειαν και ταλλ' ἀγαθα παντα

11 12 13 14 15



r-iri-sne *ere ... hlt* *tt-ut* *krf* *ha*

have given; being the sovereignty confirmed to him and

διδωκασιν l. 36. της βασιλειας διαμενουσης αὐτῳ και

16 17 18 19 20

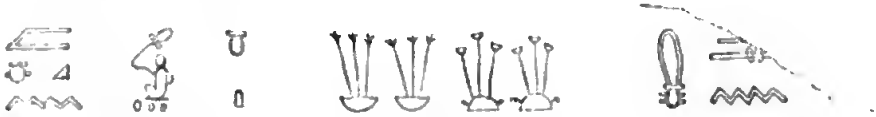


chrtif *ha* *snsh-nfr*

his children for ever. With good oversight. It seemed good

τοις τεκνοις εἰς τον ἁπαντα χρονον. Ἀγαθῃ τῦχῃ ἐδοξεν

21 22 23 24 25



m-nen *ubu* *ni* *sh-tne*

to the priests of Upper (Egypt) Lower unanimously

τοις ἱερευσι των κατα την χωραν ἱερων

LINE V.

1. 2. 3.



ntr *aseu* *stu*

The sentence which this phrase terminates is part of the thirty-fifth line of the translation. It runs thus: "Also, he re-established the most venerated of the temples throughout his kingdom, as was his duty." The state of decay into which the worship of Egypt had fallen in the time of the Ptolemies, and of which the ruins of her temples give to this day abundant evidence, is hinted at in this passage in no equivocal terms.

Group 1. The first remaining character is a goddess seated, holding a sceptre. It is, doubtless, the concluding character of the group , "gods and goddesses," which, when the text was complete, was preceded by the word, "temples of," or, "habitations of," as we learn from the translation.

Group 2. Four phonetics, determined by a picture of the thigh of an ox, with the flesh carefully divided, and spread out on each side, according to the universal custom in ancient Egypt, both for sacrifice and the table. This character Champollion ascertained to be, in some places, the symbol of "substance," "actuality," as well as, in other places, the picture of itself. It here determines a word for which the Coptic equivalent is ⲁⲥⲟⲩ, Greek, τιμη, "honour," "veneration." It is,

therefore, translated, τα τιμιωτατα in the Greek, as it is almost needless to point out.

Group 3. The character which is repeated twice to form this group, denotes "king," "kingdom," as we have already explained.* The meaning is, "of both kingdoms," that is, Upper and Lower Egypt. In the Greek, ἐπι της ἑαυτου βασιλειας, "in his kingdom." The whole has, therefore, meant, "the temples of the gods and goddesses most honoured in both kingdoms."

4. 5. 6. 7. 8.



rta-nf *ntr* *....n-* *sht....* *enh-ts*

9. 10. 11.



hr-sht-nb *nfr* *r-iri-sne*

The Greek is, "Wherefore the gods have given him health, victory, strength, and all other good things."†

Group 4. The three first characters, *rta*, are the auxiliary Coptic verb, ⲧⲣⲁ. The two last, *nf*, are the pronominal suffix, ⲙⲁⲩ, "to him," of the same grammar. This auxiliary frequently occurs in the Coptic texts in senses closely allied to its use in the present instance, where it means "therefore," "on this account."‡

* Above, line ii., group 8, p. 74.

† αἰθ'ὡν δεδωκασιν αὐτῳ οἱ θεοι ὑγειαν νικην κρατος και παλλ'ἀγαθα παντα. Line 35.

‡ See Tattam's Coptic Grammar, pp. 98, seq.

Group 5. The extended plural of the symbol of a god, followed by the uræus, or hooded-snake, the symbol of a goddess. The Greek translates it loosely, οἱ θεοι, "the gods."

We have now arrived at that part of the inscription where portions of it have been fully analyzed by others. We shall, in these cases, give the meanings on their authority, referring to their pages for the analysis of the groups.

Groups 6, 7. The three first characters of group 6 are so imperfectly delineated, that it is not possible to say what phonetics they have been designed to represent. The arm with the club, which determines them, denotes "action" generally, and especially acts requiring violent exertion. The last character, (the waved line,) belongs to the following group, which is perfectly well known, and of frequent occurrence. In better texts it is written thus, . It reads, *nsht*, the consonants of the Coptic word, ⲛⲁϣⲧ, "to be stronger," "more powerful," "to conquer." The second character (the first of group 7,) is a branch of the tamarisk tree. It was once the initial, but it now scarcely occurs, save with its interpretation, the waved line, *n*. This word means "victory" in many clearly ascertained places in the hieroglyphic texts.* We cannot, therefore, err in assuming these two groups to mean "strength," "victory."

Group 8. The first character is the symbol of life. The two remaining ones read *ts*, and represent the Coptic word, ⲧⲟⲓⲥ, "to swathe," "to bind firmly."

* Dictionnaire, pp. 432, &c.

The determinative of this group was a cord tied,  which, apparently by a mistake of the hieroglypt, is here engraven upon the first character, . The group means, "a bound up," "a secured," "a charmed life," and has been translated, ὑγειαν, "health."

Groups 9, 10. "With all other good things." In Greek, και τἀλλ'ἀγαθα παντα.*

Group 11. The second character of this group is again illegible. It is either the first line of an unfinished representation of the human eye, , which, through inattention, has been allowed to pass unnoticed, or an eye closed.† In either case the Greek translation of the group, δεδωκασιν, exactly represents one of its meanings, "[the gods] have given," in the sense of "have caused to be conferred upon."

12. 13. 14. 15.



cre hlt *tt-ut* *krf* *ha*

16. 17.



chrtif

In the Greek, "the kingdom continuing with him and his children for ever."‡ The analysis of this passage will be found in many places in the works

* Dictionnaire, pp. 334, &c. † Vide infra, line xi., group 15.

‡ της βασιλειας διαμενουσης αὐτῳ και τοις τεκνοις εἰς τον ἁπαντα χρονον. Line 36.

of Champollion. To them, therefore, we refer the reader.*

Group 12. The first character, *r*, is the Coptic ⲉⲣⲉ, the sign of a new proposition. The rest means, "the supreme honour," "the sovereignty." *Dict.* 332.

Group 13. "Remaining," "being confirmed." *Dict.* 261. The character repeated twice in this group represents the stand against which the block of stone or wood, intended for a statue, was reared, while the sculptor was at work upon it. The four pegs, or rests, varied the slope of the block, so as to suit the convenience of the workman. This character has the phonetic power of *t*. (See alphabet, No. 140.) The ancient Egyptian word, represented by this group, *tt*, has left many derivatives in the Coptic texts; such are ⲧⲟⲧⲱⲧ, "to confirm," ⲧⲱϫⲓ, (see alphabet,) "to fix in the ground," &c. The two last characters are the affix of the past participle, *ut*, the ⲟⲩⲧ of the Coptic grammar. *Gram.* 429.

Group 14. *krf*, "to him," in Coptic ϧⲁⲣⲟϥ, ϩⲁⲣⲟϥ. *Gram.* 323, 425.

Group 15. *ha*, "and," Coptic ϩⲱ. *Dict.* 375.

Group 16. "His children." Christian Bunsen is the discoverer of the phonetic power of the first character in this group. Together with the two following characters, it reads *chrt*, the consonants of the Coptic word ϧⲣⲟⲩⲓ, "son," "child." The picture of an infant, with the plural sign which follows, is the determinative.

Group 17. "For ever." *Dict.* 173.

* Grammaire, 429, 515, &c.; Dictionnaire, 103, 261, &c.

18. 19.



ha *snsh-nfr*

In Greek, "with good fortune."* which is an expression purely hellenic. The reader has now, himself, the means of ascertaining that the Egyptian phrase is "with (18) good *oversight*, *care*," *i.e.*, "providence." (19.)†

20. 21. 22. 23. 24.



.... *m-nen* *ubu* *ni*

25.



sh-sne

The Greek reads, "it seemed good to the priests of all the temples throughout the country."‡

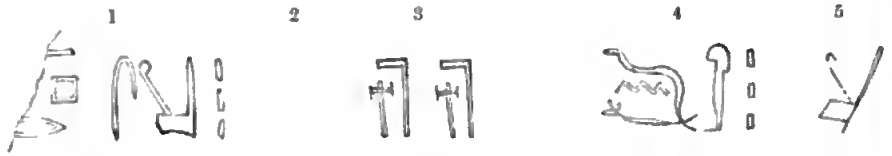
Group 20. It is to be regretted that the first two characters of this phrase, which are the phonetics of the impersonal, "it seemed good," are illegible. The two legs running are the determinative, the last *s*, the Coptic **c**, is constantly prefixed to the impersonal verb in that grammar.

* ἀγαθῃ τυχῃ. Line 36. † Above, p. 88.

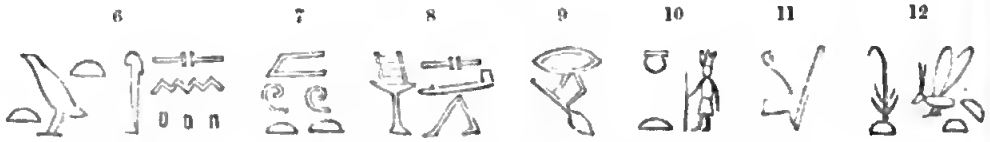
‡ ἐδοξεν τοις ἱερευσιν των κατα την χωραν ἱερων παντων. Line 36.

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE VI.



	1	2	3	4	5
	sne	*ha*	*snt-ntr*	*tn-f*	*n*
Trans.	their *or* them;	and	the saviour gods	peculiar honours	of
GRK. l. 36.		τε	των θεων σωτηρων.	l. 36. ὑπαρχοντα	τιμια



	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	tut-sne	*matat*	*sku*	*sl*	*nt*	*n*	*st*
	their statues.	Also	to place [a] consecrated		image	of	the king
l. 38.		δε	στησαι	εἰκονα			του βασιλεως



	13	14	15
	ptolmais - enh-pth-mei	*ntr-hr*	*nb-nfru*
	PTOLEMY, ever-living, beloved of Phtha,	god EPIPHANES,	very gracious,
	Πτολ μαιου	θεου ἐπιφανους	εὐχριστου



	16	17	18	19
	gu	*ut-rnf*	*ptolmais*	*snt-uth-bk*
	to be called	by his name	PTOLEMY,	avenger of Egypt.
l. 39.	ὴ	προσονομα	σθησεται	Πτολεμαιου ἰταμυντος της Αιγυπτου.



	20	21	22
	af-pu	*ptolmais*	
	Shall approach	PTOLEMY (*i.e.*, his statue).	
	Παρεστηξεται	ἡ	

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Group 21. *m*, the dative "to;" *nen*, the plural definite article. *Gram.* 181.

Group 22. The picture of a priest in the act of pouring forth the water of purification from a vase. This group is sometimes written *ub*,* the principal letters of the Coptic word ⲟⲩⲃ, "a pure, holy person." *Dict.* 418, seq. Together, therefore, the two groups read, "to the priests."

Group 23. *na*, the plural possessive article ⲛⲁ, of the Coptic grammar, "belonging to." *Id.* 417.

Group 24. Two bouquets, or garlands, of lotus flowers, the symbol of Upper Egypt; with two other garlands of the flower-tassels of the papyrus reed, the symbol of Lower Egypt. *Id.* 213.

The phrase therefore reads, "to the priests belonging to the Upper country, and to the Lower country." *Id.* 213.

Group 25 is mutilated, but easily restored. It means, literally, "like themselves," that is, "all alike," "unanimously." The Greek, it will be observed, is again a mere commentary.

LINE VI.

1. 2. 3.



sne *hr* *snt-ntr*

The fracture from the lines of the hieroglyphics is now becoming much less considerable. The commence-

* Alphabet, No. 24.

ment of this line is the continuation of the sentence that began in the last. It is very long and intricate in its construction. It will be, therefore, needful to give here an exact translation of the whole:—"With good fortune. It seemed good to the priests of all the temples throughout the country, to increase greatly the existing* religious *honours (eleven or twelve letters wanting at the end of line* 36,*)* to the ever-living king PTOLEMY, beloved of Phtha, god EPIPHANES, most gracious; and likewise those of his relatives, the gods PHILOPATOR; and those of his ancestors, the gods EUERGETES, and those of the gods PHILADELPHUS, and those of the gods SOTER," *i.e.*, "the saviour gods."

It will be noticed that all the ancestors of EPIPHANES, up to SOTER, the founder of his dynasty, are enumerated here in the order of their succession. (See p. 51, note.)

Group 1. Nothing is legible but *sne*, the pronoun of the third person plural, written with different homophons.

Before attempting to assign meanings to the other groups of this phrase, we must premise that we have now come to that part of the translation where it, as well as the hieroglyphic original, has undergone large mutilation. Eleven letters, at least, are wanting at the end of line 36, and twelve at the end of line 37; both occurring in the sentence before us.

Group 2. *hr*, "and."

Group 3. A battle-axe, or war-club, and the symbol of divinity in the extended dual. The battle-axe is the

* τα ὑπαρχοντα.

abbreviation of a well-known word of frequent occurrence, , *snt;* the Coptic verb, CHT, "to overlook," "to protect."* The present combination is the title of certain gods in the Egyptian mythology. It was conferred by the priests upon PTOLEMY LAGUS, the founder of the Greco-Egyptian monarchy, at his coronation. The Greek translation of the title was SOTER, that is, σωτηρ, "saviour." It is, therefore, the group translated των θεων σωτηρων, "of the saviour gods," in the 38th line.

4. 5. 6.



tn-f.... *n* *tut-sne*

This phrase, idiomatic and difficult in itself, occurs as the mutilated fragment of a long sentence; and the translation which is to guide us to its import, is itself most intricately constructed, according to the rules of a language altogether foreign to that of the original; the translation itself being moreover largely mutilated. Under these circumstances, it is, of necessity, only from the analysis of other texts that we can hope to throw any light upon it.

Group 4. The picture of an upright mummy-case is employed as the determinative of more than one group of phonetics, expressing the ideas of "fixedness," "appointment," "ordinance." Affected, therefore, by the sign of the plural, it has here been translated by

* Alphabet, No. 118.

the Greek τα τιμια, "the appointed divine honours." The three characters which precede it, *(tn-f,)* we have already translated, (see page 88,) reserving the analysis of the word to the present occasion. The snake which commences it is the abbreviation of a group very common in mythic texts, , or , which is of difficult interpretation, being used in two different senses. Its primitive meaning is "little." The small bird, which determines it in one transcription, is the sparrow, the well-known determinative in kind of all groups denoting "little" and "evil" things and actions. The group reads, *ts*, or *djs*, or *tso*. Though the word in this its primitive meaning is not found in the present Coptic texts, yet a crowd of words from the vocabulary of that language afford us unmistakable indications of their derivation from it. Such are, ϫⲟⲥ, *djos*, "half;" ϫⲓⲥⲉ, *djise*, "to go upwards;" because, a bird soaring upwards apparently diminishes in size, &c. We might greatly multiply the instances of derivatives from this root.

We have already noticed the employment of this same group with the sense of "peculiar." It is so used when the noun it affects is the only being entitled to the thing spoken of, that is to say, when it is "exclusive," "confined to one only," involving very evidently the idea of "curtailment," "diminution." The translation of it in the place before us has been broken away from the end of the 36th line; but with the assistance of its former occurrence* we may, with much

* Line iii. group 15.

probability, restore it thus, τα ὑπαρχοντα τ....*(here is the fracture, about twelve letters,)* [ιμια ἰδια τατι] line 36, τῳ αιωνωβιῳ κ. τ. λ.; *i.e.* "the existing peculiar religious honours, both those of the ever-living king," &c.

The group before us, therefore, appears to have been translated τα ἰδια, "peculiar." Its second character is an error: for the waved line, (*n*,) the first copy read —, *s*. The very frequent occurrence of it in better texts enables us to make this correction. We translate it by the adjective "peculiar," qualifying the upright mummy case, the symbol of "religious honours."

Group 5. The lower portion of the crown of Egypt. Its hieroglyphic name is "the red crown," because the representations of it are invariably painted red. It symbolizes dominion over Lower Egypt. Used phonetically, (its present use,) it will be found in the alphabet (No. 87), as one of the homophons of the letter *n*. It here denotes the genitive "of."

Group 6. *Tut*, in Coptic, ⲑⲱⲟⲩⲧ, "a statue," determined by the picture of an upright mummy case, followed by the pronoun of the third person plural, "their statues."

7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
				
m-utut	*ska*	*sl*	*nt*	*n*

Group 7. The import is "also," "likewise," as Champollion rightly ascertained. It is found in the Coptic grammar under the form of ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ, with the

same signification. The prefixes *m* and *n* frequently interchange with each other in both texts.

Group 8. *ska*, with the determinative of action; in Coptic ϣϩ, "to be in a place," with the causative *s*, "to place." *Dict.* 291, &c.

Together, therefore, the two groups read, "and to place," like the Greek στησαι δε.

Groups 9, 10. The composite character which commences the first of these groups, consisting of a human mouth and two arms holding a utensil represented in acts of worship, means "placed in a shrine," "set forth for adoration." The two following, *nt*, are the Coptic prefix, ⲛⲓⲧ, "which is." The character that next follows is the picture of a king of Egypt, with his sceptre and crown. The import, therefore, of the two groups, we take to be, "an object for worship, which is a king," *i.e.*, "a consecrated royal image," which the Greek renders by εἰκονα, "image."

Group 11. "Of," as before.

12. 13.



st.... *Ptolmais-enh....-pth-mei*

14. 15.



ntr-hr *nb-nfru*

Group 12. The first two characters are *st*, the habitual abbreviation of *stn*, "a king," determined by

a bee, the symbol for a king, according to the Greek writer Horapollo. (Hieroglyphics i. 62.)

Group 13. The ring which encloses these characters always distinguishes the names and titles of persons exercising, or having exercised, the sovereign power in Egypt. The first group of characters our readers will discover at a glance to be the name of PTOLEMY written in phonetic hieroglyphics. It is followed by the symbol of life and the group which denotes eternity, which obviously means "ever-living," in the Greek τοῦ αἰωνοβίου.

The concluding group in the ring reads *pth-mei*. The three first letters are transcribed untranslated into the Greek, ΦΘα, *Phtha*. It is the name of the tutelary god of Memphis, who is represented by the Ηφαιστος of the Greek, and the Vulcan of the Latin mythology. The three following characters are the Coptic verb ⲙⲉⲓ, "to love." The group therefore means, "beloved of Phtha," which the Greek translates literally in another place, ἠγαπημενου ὑπο του ΦΘα. (Line 37.) For brevity's sake it has not been repeated in this place. The two titles which accompany the name of PTOLEMY in this ring are the peculiar and distinctive ones of EPIPHANES, never omitted when his name is written at length.

Group 14 is translated θεου ἐπιφανους, "a god manifested." The three last characters of it, *hr*, determined by the two legs running, mean "to come forth," as a heavenly body in rising. Mr. Birch has ascertained the import of this group.

16. 17.



gu



ut rnf

Between these groups and that which immediately precedes them, the Greek interposes a clause, the original of which occurring near the end of the line before us, has unhappily been broken off. We give here the entire passage, in order that the reader may clearly understand the import of this part of the inscription; "also to place an image of the ever-living king PTOLEMY, god EPIPHANES, thankworthy, in each temple in the most conspicuous place."*

The groups before us continue the sentence.

Group 16. The two first characters read *gu*, or *dju*, the Coptic verb, ϫω, "to speak." The picture of a man with his hand to his mouth determines this word, in accordance with the rule we have already explained. It is also affected by *ut*, the past participial affix, which commences the next group.

Group 17. The ring in which royal names are always written. Here, and in innumerable other places, it denotes the word, "name." The last character is *f*, "his." The whole, therefore, reads "his name," (that of the statue,)" is called." In the Greek, ἡ προσονομασθεσεται, "which (statue) shall be named." Line 39.

18. 19.



ptolmais



snt-uth

Group 18. "PTOLEMY;" Greek, Πτολεμαιου.

* στησαι δε του αἰωναβιου βασιλεως Πτολεμαίου θεου ἐπιφανους εὐχαριστου εἰκονα ἐν ἑκαστῳ ἱερῳ ἐν τῳ ἐπιφανεσ (*fracture*), line 18.

Group 19. The first three characters here are the full transcription of the group *snt*,* "to save," "to protect." The Greek translates them by του ἐπαμυναντος, "defending." The concluding group is translated, "Egypt." It will be perceived that it is determined by the cake of bread, which we have already explained to be the symbol of land, or country. The character by which Egypt is denoted in this place has, perhaps, exercised the ingenuity of students of hieroglyphics more largely, and with less satisfactory results, than any other character in the entire system. It has been named the bull's eye, the sacred symbolical eye, the eye of Ptha-Nilometer, &c. All that has been certainly ascertained regarding it, amounting, nevertheless, to nothing more, than it is occasionally employed as the determinative of a group reading, *uth*. We submit that this character is the representation of an eye suffering from opthalmia, and that its name, *uth*, is the Coptic verb, ⲟⲧϩ, "to run down," "to melt." In full confirmation of this reading we give the following group from the Turin ritual, .† Here it will be perceived that the rheum, or humour, represented as falling from the eye, is named, *oth*. "The land of sore eyes," though by no means a poetical name for a country, is nevertheless a very significant one for the land of Egypt, where every twentieth man is blind, every tenth man one eyed, and every fifth man suffering from opthalmia, to this day. I am not aware of the occurrence of this designation of the land of Egypt, in any text of older date than the Rosetta inscription. In these later times

* Alphabet, No. 118. † Plate 6, col. 44, of Lepsius' Edition.

the representation of the sore eye had been so frequently hung up in the temples of the god who was invoked to heal that disease, as a votive acknowledgment of its cure, that it seems to have become a symbol of the god himself. There are representations of this, and even of earlier dates, in which several of the secondary or filial divinities are associated with it. Very possibly so used, it may also have represented the eye dazzled and suffused, by attempting to look at the sun, who, as we shall presently see, was in the Egyptian Mythology a god and the father of all the gods.

20. 21. 22.



af-pu *Ptolmais*

The Greek of which this fragment is the commencement, runs thus, " to which [statue of PTOLEMY] shall approach the supreme god of the temple, presenting to him a conquering weapon."*

Group 20 is the original of the Greek παρασηξεται (*i.e.*, παραστησεται), "shall approach." The first character is a laden boat. The great labour and difficulty in Egypt of travelling by land over rugged ledges of rocks, or ankle deep in sand, and, on the other hand, the extraordinary facility for water carriage presented by the broad, deep, and placid waters of the Nile, have, in all ages, rendered the latter all but the only mode of transit from one part of the country to another. It is for this reason that boats are so

* ῾παραστηξεται ὁ κυριωτατος θεος του ἱερου διδους αὐτῳ ὁπλον νικητικον. L. 39.

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE VII.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7



hu-nb *hi-rnf* *...s* *sl-nt* *... ..* *apn* *m-sp*

Trans. every day in his name to worship consecrated images these thrice

GREEK, l. 40. *θεραπευειν* *τας εἰκονας* *τρις*

8 9 10 11 12 13 14



III. *mki* *hu* *hr* *iri-rta* *mto-sne* *iri-ti-sne*

-n-day, and to place a sacred ornament before them. Let them fulfil

της ἡμερας *και* *παρατιθεναι* *ἱερον κοσμον* *αὐτοις* *και συντελειν*

15 16 17 18 19 20 21



ke-nb *tut* *n* *..... sne* *shi-iri* *anu* *ntr*

also all the rest of ceremonies of their divine worship, like those relig. rites of the local divinities

τ'ἀλλα *τα νομιζομενα* *καθ' ἁ και τοις* *ἀλλοις θειοις*

22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29

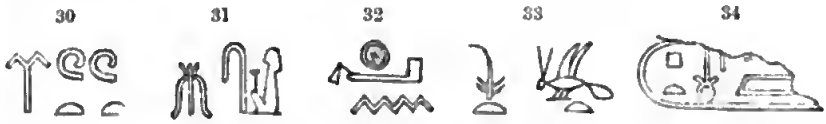


m-hbu *ke* *hu...* *hr* *hu-n-sha* *ha* *hu* *hu-m-rnf*

in general assemblies both the prescribed days, and the day of coronation, and also his name day.

l. 41. *πανηγυρισιν*

30 31 32 33 34



m-ufut *mss-ntr* *shash-n* *st.....* *pto-m...*

Moreover, the divine mother, the directress of the king, PTO-M...

δε *βασιλισσης* *βασιλει* *Πτολεμαιῳ*

frequently represented in the hierogiyphic texts, as the determinatives of words expressing motion or progression.

The two characters that follow, *ef*, seem to represent the formant of the future tense in the Coptic grammar, ⲉⲫⲉ, *efe*. The concluding group, *pu*, seems to be the hieroglyphic equivalent of the form of the verb substantive "to be," which, in the Coptic texts, accompanies the future tense of other verbs under the very singular form of ⲟⲩ, before the verb, and ⲛⲉ immediately after it. We read the group, therefore, "shall approach."

Group 21. The name of PTOLEMY repeated honorifically, instead of the pronoun "to him."

It is much to be regretted that the remaiuder of this sentence is broken off from the hieroglyphic orignal. It describes a scene exactly in conformity with the taste of ancient Egypt, and frequently depicted on the walls of her temples. The monarch approaches the god of the temple with his offering. The divinity steps forth from his place to meet him, and presents to him a sword or knife, called *shopsh*.*

LINE VII.

1. 2. 3.



hu-nb *hi-rnf**s*

The Greek of this passage has been broken off from the end of line 39. The meaning, however, of both groups is perfectly familiar to us.

* See Rosellini, Monumenti Reali, pl. lxxxvi. &c.

Group 1. "Every day." *Dict.*, p. 120.

Group 2. "In his name." (Line vi., group 17; p. 112.)

Group 3. "To worship." θεραπευειν, Greek. (Line 40.)

4. 5. 6.



sl-na *apn*

Greek, τας εἰκονας, "the images."

Group 4. We have already given the analysis of this word.* The first character means "that which is placed in a shrine for worship." The two following phonetics read *na;* in Coptic, ⲛⲁⲓ, "these."

Group 5. Pictures of the images or reliefs of the principal god of the temple, and of EPIPHANES.

Group 6. The hieroglyphic form of the relative. Coptic, ⲟⲩⲧ, ⲡⲉⲓⲧ; "which."

This passage reads, "these consecrated [images] which [represent] the god of the temple, and EPIPHANES." This may be cited as one of those very rare instances in which a picture-writing expresses an idea more compendiously than written characters.

7. 8. 9.

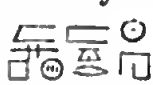


m-sp III. *mkr* *hu*

In Greek, τρις της ἡμερας, "thrice a day."

Group 7. The unskilfulness of the artist, by whom

* Line vi., groups 9, 10.

the inscription was executed, is very conspicuous in this place. He intended to have engraven the group before us thus, , as we know from the unmistakeable analogy of many occurrences in better texts. He had not, however, the skill so to execute the last character as to engrave the three lines within the ring without breaking away the basalt of the whole surface it enclosed, thus making the character a mere blot or smudge. He has, on this account, been compelled to repeat the three lines at the beginning of the following group; for in this place it was important to make himself well understood, especially to his Egyptian readers. By this means the three characters which compose it in his copy are crowded together in a manner at once unsymmetrical and unseemly. In his copy, the phrase probably stood thus, , "thrice a day," as the Greek exactly renders it. The three first characters, *m-sp*, followed by the number three, exactly reproduce the Coptic expression for thrice, ⲙⲥⲟⲩⲉ.

Group 8. *Mkr*, "in each," "namely." The Coptic generally abbreviates this word to ⲙ only.

Group 9. The well-known transcription in the hieroglyphic texts of the Coptic word, ϩⲟⲟⲩ, *hoou*, "day," as before.* The circle is the sun, the determinative of day. It here precedes, in better texts it follows, the ground-plot of a house, *h*, which is the first letter of the word.

* Group 1, p. 116.

10. 11. 12. 13.



hr *iri-rta* *mto-sne*

In Greek, "and to place before them [the statues] a sacred ornament."*

Group 10. "And."

Group 11. A compound of *er*, "to accomplish," a religious rite especially, and *tre*, "to do," "to place." The Greek translates it, "to place," only. It means, "to place as an act of religion."

Group 12. A picture of the table of prothesis, or exposition, for which the Greeks had no name, as its use does not seem to have formed a part of the ritual of their mythology. It is, therefore, vaguely rendered, "sacred ornament," or "utensil." The ostrich feathers upon it probably indicate that the lawful and prescribed offerings of bread, &c., were to be placed there.

Group 13. The two first characters are perfectly understood, and with the pronoun of the third person plural read, as in the Greek, "before them," or, "in their presence." *Dict.*, p. 299.

14. 15. 16.



iri-ti-sne *ke-nb* *tut*

17. 18.



n *sne*

* καὶ παρατιθέναι αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν κοσμον.

In Greek, "and to fulfil the rest of the appointed ceremonies."*

Group 14. "Let them fulfil."

Group 15. The first character is meant for *k*, the abbreviation of the Coptic ⲕⲉ, "also."

If the human leg be really meant by the next character, it may be used with a symbolical meaning, to denote "the rest," "that which follows," *sesquepedale.* The whole reads, "and all the rest."

Group 16. "Ceremonies."

Group 17. The crown of Lower Egypt, *n*, here *nai*, "with which," "wherewith."

Group 18. The altar, with two arms upon it, raised in the act of worship, denotes "adoration." The sitting female figure, with the sceptre, is the principal goddess of the temple to which the Rosetta inscription belonged, probably Isis, followed by the pronoun, *sne*, "they."

The phrase means, "let them perform also all the rest of the appointed ceremonies wherewith they worship Isis,"? [in this temple.]

19.	20.	21.
		
shi-iri	*anu*	*ntr*

Greek, line 40, "according to those [ceremonies performed] to the other gods in," *(here the fracture occurs,)* line 41, "general assemblies."†

* και τἀλλα τα νομιζομενα συντελειν.

† κἀθ' ἁ και τοις ἀλλοις θεοις ἐν (line 40, ...*fifteen letters wanting*),... ηγυρεσιν. Line 41.

Group 19. The first character is "like," "according to." The eye means, "ceremonies."

Group 20. The plural demonstrative, *nai*, "those."

Group 21. The symbol of divinity, followed by three pictures of irrigated fields, means, "gods of the country," "local divinities."

The whole reads, "according to the ceremonies which are performed to the local divinities," the Greek translation being again a mere commentary.

22.	23.	24.	25.	26.
				
m-hbu	*ke*	*hu....*	*hr*	*hu-n-sha*

27.	28.	29.
		
ha	*hu*	*hu-m-rnf*

The only assistance which we derive from the Greek in translating this passage, is the remains of the word which signifies "general assemblies" at the beginning of the 41st line. It is, therefore, only from acquaintance with the hieroglyphic writing derived from other sources that the interpretation can be supplied.

The first character, *m*, "in," is followed by one which Champollion ascertained to be the conventional picture of the halls propped with many rows of pillars, in which the general assemblies, or *panygeries*, were celebrated. *Dict.* 253. It, with its plural mark, has, therefore, been the original of the word which, in the Greek, terminates the phrase at the beginning of the 41st line, νηγυρεσιν.

Group 23 is *ke*, "both."

Group 24. The ostrich feather, combined with the disc of the sun, and followed by another disc with the mark of the plural, means, "the prescribed days," "the days already appointed."

Group 25. *hr*, "and." *Dict.* 375.

Group 26. *hu*, "the day," *(id.* 240); *n*, "of," *(id.* 429); *sha*, "coronation," *(id.* 318.)

Group 27. *ha*, "and," (above, p. 75.)

Group 28. *hu*, equivalent to the Coptic ϩω, "also."

Group 29. *hu*, "the day;" *m*, "of," (*Dict.* 298); *ranf*, "his name," (*id.* 73.) The name-day of a king of Egypt was a festival quite as solemn as the anniversary of his coronation.

With the meaning of the original before us we can have no difficulty in supplying the missing portion of the fortieth line of the Greek: "In festivals and general assemblies,"* which is just in the loose, paraphrastic way in which the translator passes over all the minute peculiarities of the customs of Egypt that are mentioned in the original.

30. 31. 32.



m-utut



mss-ntr



shash-n

33. 34.



st....



Pto... m

With this phrase the following clause of the Greek

* End of line 40, ἐν...ἑορταῖς τε καὶ πα...(line 41)...πηγύρεσιν.

translation commences: "Also, to consecrate to king PTOLEMY, god EPIPHANES, very gracious, who is the son of king PTOLEMY and queen ARSINOE, gods PHILOPATER, a statue and a shrine [overlaid with gold?]*(sixteen letters wanting at the end of the line* 41)" temples." Line 42.

Group 30. "Moreover," "in like manner." (Line vi., group 7.)

Group 31. *mss*, Coptic, uec, "to produce," "bring forth." *(Dict.* 229.) By this group the maternal relation is expressed in hieroglyphics; and such was the extreme sacredness of this tie of consanguinity in the ethics of ancient Egypt, that it would not be easy to point out a group of more frequent occurrence in the texts. The picture of a goddess, which immediately follows, determines the group in the present instance. It means the "divine mother."

Group 32. "Directrix," "governess,"* *n*, "*of*."

Groups 33, 34. "King PTOLEMY." [EPIPHANES.] The import of the whole fragment is, "also, to the the divine mother and governess of king PTOLEMY" [EPIPHANES]; that is, to his surviving parent, queen ARSINOE.

* See line iii. group 3, above, p. 81.

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE VIII.



as

Trans. a statue

GRK., l. 41. ξοανον



m-mnub

overlaid with gold

χρυ



mh-m-na

the first and greatest



et-nb-n-to

temple every of the land

l. 42. ἱερων



mri-et-bk

[of] Egypt



nb-hi-rn

all in name



f-m

his.



bb

To place



sl

in the

και καθιδρυται ἐν τοις



hr

adyta



.....

with the shrines

ἀδυτοις μετα ναων



ni

of

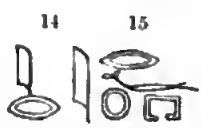
των



nte ...

the gods provincial.

ἀλλων



er-eru-hu

Also on the day [of] the general assembly

και ἐν τοις πανηγυρισιν



hbi



hli

ancient

μεγαλοις



fm-ntr-m

the god comes forth from

ἐξοδιαι



... *ef*

his pure house,

γινονται



as

statue, [and] decorated shrine his,

των ναων

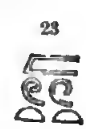


r ...



f ... *ene*

go forth.



m-utut

In like manner



s-sh

shall be feted

και l. 43. ἐξοδευειν



..

the shrine [and] the statue

l. 42. τον



as



n

of

του



ntr-hr

god EPIPHANES,

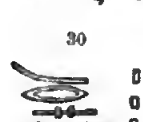
θεου ἐπιφανους



nb-n-fru

very gracious

εὐχρηστου



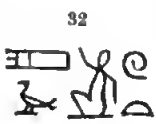
hr-me

with them.



r-rta

That it may



go-ut

be apparent



...

the shrine



thm

to rest.



[erased]

l. 43. ὁπως ἐυσημως ἡ τῳ ναῳ ἐπικεισθαι.

LINE VIII.

1. 2. 3. 4.



as *m....m-nub* *mh-m-na* *et-nb-n-to*

5. 6. 7.



mri-et-bk *nb-hi-rn* *f....m*

Here, again, we are deprived of the translation by the fracture of the block. The words, ξοανον και ναον χρ, at the end of the 41st line, and the word, ἱερων, at the beginning of the 42nd, are all that remain of the translation of a sentence of which the phrase before us formed also a part.

Group 1. The picture of a colossal sitting figure, the initial of the group, which reads, *as;* Coptic, ⲁⲥ, "great," "eminent." (Alphabet, No. 9.) It is translated in the Greek, ξοανον, "an image."

Group 2. *m*, "of," followed by a sceptre, with the head of the hoopoe. *m*, "of," another homophon, and the cloth for filtering gold-dust, the symbol for gold; together, therefore, "of pure gold," *(Dict.* 325;) or, possibly, "made pure with gold;" *i.e.*, "gilded," "overlaid." The close connection of purity with shining and bright colours in the mode of thought that prevailed in ancient Egypt, is a remarkable peculiarity to which frequent allusions are made in the hieroglyphic texts.

It is quite certain from the analogy of existing records and remains of times far more prosperous than those of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, that his shrine and statue would only be gilded, or, at most, overlaid with gold. We, therefore, do not hesitate to supply the missing portion of the word which translates this group, and of which the first two letters only remain at the end of line 41, χρ (υσουντα) "gilded," or "overlaid."

Group 3. The first character  which is a picture of a girdle, or sash, in Coptic, ⲙⲁϩⲥ,* is of not uncommon use in the texts, as the representative of another Coptic word having the same consonants, ⲙⲥϩ, which in that language is habitually prefixed to the numeral adjectives, giving them the ordinal power; thus, ϩⲛⲁⲩ, "two," ⲙⲉϩϩⲛⲁⲩ, "second." *Dict.* 367. Its power in the place before us is, "first," "chief." Whether the mark of unity, which ought to follow this character, (see line xiv., gr. 20,) has been omitted by mistake, or whether it may not be occasionally used alone with this sense, is not easy to determine.

The following character is *m*, "and." The club, or pike succeeds, which, grouped with two other characters,  *na*, is the constantly occurring equivalent of the Coptic word, ⲛⲁ, "great." *Dict.* 328.

Group 4.  *ēi-t*, Coptic, ⲓⲓⲓ, "house," "residence," (*id.* 239;) *nb*, "all," "every." The import is, "in every great temple of the first class," or, "in all the greatest temples;"  *n*, "of,"  "the land,"

Alphabet, No. 82.

literally, "the plain," for that is the character of all the arable land of Egypt.

Group 5. A very common appellative of the name of Egypt. Its first three characters, *mri*, are the Coptic word, ⲙⲏⲣⲉ, "inundation;" followed by "house" and "land," it means, "the inhabited land of inundation," alluding to the annual overflow of the Nile, as it is scarcely needful to explain.

Group 6. *nb*, "all;" *hi*, "in," Coptic, ϩⲓ, *(Dict.* 56;) *ranf*, "his name."

The concluding character of the phrase is the first of the following sentence. This place is an instance of the occasional use of the papyrus roll as a mark of punctuation.

The meaning, then, of the entire passage, will be, "a gilded statue, in all the first and greatest temples of the whole land of Egypt, in his name."

The Greek translation of this passage must have been as vague as, from what we now know of it, might have been anticipated. We fill up thus the *lacune* of the end of the 41st line, χρ [σουντα ἐν ἑκαστωι των] (line 42,) ἱερων, *i.e.*, "a gilded [image and shrine] in every one of the temples."

8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
					
bb	*sl*	*hr*		*ni*	*nte*....

In Greek, "and to place them in the adyta [most holy places of the temples] with the rest of the shrines."*

* και καθιδρυσαι ἐν τοις ἀδυτοις μετα των ἀλλων νεων. Line 42.

The analysis of the original is as follows:

Group 7. *m*, "in."

Group 8. The leg, determined by the ground-plot of a house, represents the Coptic, ϩⲏϩ, "a cave," "a dark place," *i.e.*, "an adytum."*

Group 9. Two hands holding some sacred utensil which we have already explained to mean, "set up for worship," "consecrate." The *r* completes the articulation of the word, signifying the import of the character that precedes it; *sr*, *sl*, Coptic, ϲⲟⲗϭϭⲁ, "adorn."

The whole means, "and to place them in each adytum," *i.e.*, "in the adyta," which the Greek has translated exactly, και καθιδρυσαι εν τοις αδυτοις. Line 42.

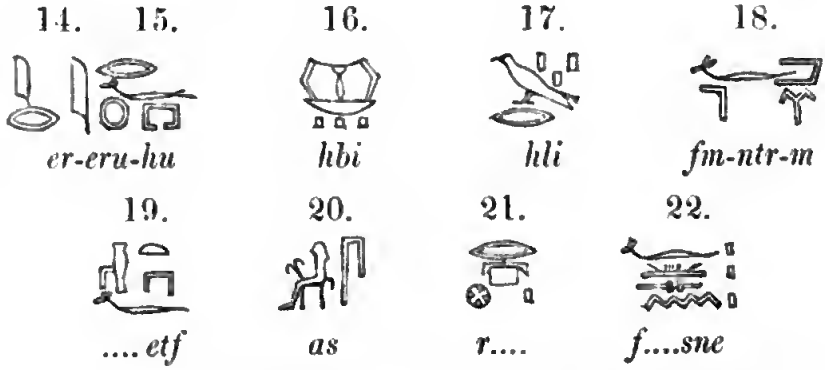
Group 10. *hr*, "with."

Group 11. "The shrines."

Group 12. *nai*, "of."

Group 13. "The local divinities."

The whole is loosely translated by the Greek, μετα των αλλων ναων, "with the other shrines."



The Greek translation is, "Also in the great general

* The sanctuary, or most holy place of a heathen temple. It was always perfectly dark.

assemblies, in which processions of the shrines take place."*

We are quite prepared to find this translation very loose and general.

Group 14. The first two letters are *er*, the Coptic ερε, the commencement of a proposition in the absolute present tense. *(Dict.* 184.*)*

Group 15. *eru*, represents the vague word, ΑΡΗΟΥ, which in the Coptic texts frequently comes immediately after the initial particle of a sentence like this, without modifying the sense in any way that has yet been ascertained. Its hieroglyphic transcription occurs in two other places in the inscription. (Line x. gr. 33; and xiii. 9.) To them, therefore, we refer for the further consideration of its true import. It has here a disjunctive power. The following characters we have already repeatedly rendered "day."

The two groups read together, "Moreover, on the day [of]."

Group 16. "Panegyries," "general assemblies."

Group 17. "Great." (Above, p. 88.)

Group 18. The first character, (a horned snake, creeping forth from the boat-stand,) was but imperfectly known until the learning and research of one of the most successful of the students of Egyptian literature, Samuel Birch, enabled him fully to elucidate its meaning, from a passage quoted in a commentary upon Homer, from the works of the lost Greek author, Charemon. It means, "the coming forth of a god

* και ἐν ταις μεγαλαις πανηγυρεσιν ἐν αἰς ἐξοδοι των θεων γινονται. Line 42.

from his temple," or, "the rising of a heavenly body." The following characters mean, "the god;" *m*, "from."

Group 19. The vase, emitting water from the spout, an emblem of purity. The group, therefore, means, "his pure house, or temple."

Group 20. "His statues."

Group 21. *r*, "and," then the picture of a shrine followed by the disc of the sun, the symbol of "brilliancy," "decoration." To these must also be added the first character of the following group, *f*, "his."

Group 22. The boat, the symbol of "motion," "progression," followed by the sign of the third person plural, "they go in procession."

The import of the whole phrase, therefore, will be, "Moreover, on the days of the great general assemblies, when the god comes forth from his pure house, and his statue and decorated shrine move in procession."

The reader will perceive at a glance the vague character of the Greek translation of this clause.

23.	24.	25.	26.	27.
				
m-utut	*s-sh*		*as*	*n*

28.	29.	30.
		
ntr-hr....	*nb-n-fru*	*hr-sne*

Group 23. "In like manner." (Above, p. 109.

Group 24. "Shall be feted," "honoured in a festival." (*Dict.* 318.)

Group 25. "The shrine." (Above, p. 79.)
Group 26. "The statue." (Above, p. 123, &c.)
Group 27. *n*, "of." (Above, p. 73, &c.)
Group 28. "The god EPIPHANES." (Above, p. 111.)
Group 29. "Very gracious." (*Id.*)
Group 30. *hr-sne*, "with them." (*Dict.* 334.)

The Greek of this portion is much mutilated. But, in so well-known and easy a passage, it is of little importance.*

31. 32.




r-rta *go-ut*

Greek, ὁπως δε εὐσημως ᾖ (line 43,) "that it may be apparent, manifest."

Group 31. *r-rta*, exactly represents the ερε ορε of the Coptic grammar, which is one of the preformants of the subjunctive mood.

Group 32. "To speak," "to proclaim." Instead of representing the first character *g*, or *k*, by the bronze basin with a ring, the hieroglypt has here substituted another homophon (the crocodile's tail,) for the same sound.

33. 34. 35.





.... *tnm* (erased)

The corresponding Greek is, "them [the royal ornaments] to remain [or resting) upon the shrine."†

* και τον του θεου επιφανους υ.. (18 *letters, at least, broken off at the end of line* 42.) Line 43, ξοδευειν.

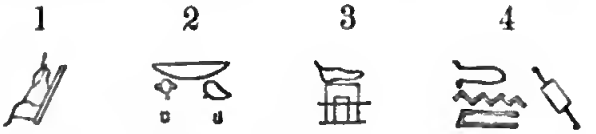
† επικειεσθαι τω ναω Line 43.

Group 33. "The shrine."

Group 34. *tnm*, a transposed form of the Coptic verb, ⲧⲟⲛⲓ, "to rest," "remain." Its determinative has been erased in this place. The group occurring again at the beginning of the following line, we will take that opportunity of giving its full analysis.

LINE IX.

In order to the clear understanding of the fragment of the sentence, which, beginning at the end of the preceding line, is continued at the commencement of the one now before us, it will be needful to give the Greek translation, which is likewise mutilated. "..... that now, and for the future, the ten royal golden insignia of the king, to which the asp is attached, may be conspicuously placed upon the shrine;" *(twenty letters wanting at the end of line* 43,) *line* 44, ("as) the asp-like royal insignia which are upon the other shrines."*



Group 1. The broken character with which the fragment of the ninth line commences, is the last of the ten royal insignia which were, doubtless, enumerated on the part which is broken off. The loss of this portion of the original is the more to be regretted,

* ὁπως εὐσημως ᾖ των και εἰς τον ἑπειτα χρονον ἐπικεισθαι τῳ ναῳ τας του βασιλεως χρυσας βασιλειας δεκα αἰς προσκειται ἀσπις...(line 43)...των ἀσπιδοειδων βασιλειων των ἐπι των ἀλλων ναων...(line 44.)

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE IX.

1	2	3	4	5	6
					
snt	*nb-hi-ke*		*tnm*	*n*	*hrr*
Trans. crown	every upon each	shrine	be placed [as]	the	two asp-crowns
GREEK.			line 44.		των ἀσπιδοειδων βασιλ.

7	8	9	10	11	12
					
un-hi	*ke*		*au*	*shnt*	*m-hrt-ru*
are upon	other	shrines.	Let be	the shent	in the midst of them
των ἐπι	των ἀλλων	ναων	ἐστω	ΨΧΕΝΤ	αὐτων ἐν τω μεσῳ

13	14	15	16	17	18
					
djr-nte	*pst . .*	*ubf*	*... f-m*	*... pth*	*m-sa-iri-nf*
wherewith	invested,	his majesty	went into	Memphis	after he had performed
ης	τεριθειμενος	εἰσηλθεν	εἰς το ἐν	Μεμφ.	l. 45. τελεσθη

19	20	21	22	23
				
mi-tut-nb	*nbs*	*st...*	*r-sht*	*sh-ft*
every lawful ceremony perfectly		of the Upper Kingdom	in every temple	when
τα νομιζομενα				τη

24	25	26	27	28	29
					
g-nf	*.....hlt*	*m-utut*	*rta-m*	*ma-hi*	*ne-nte*
he received	the sovereignty.	Also	to place	thereupon	stones which [are]
παρελαψεν	της βασιλ ιας.	δε και	ἐπιθειναι	ἐπι	του τετραγωνου

30	31	32	33	34	35
					
m	...	*nfru*	*apn*	*ma-ntru*	*shnt*
of	square	good	these	near the divine	shent ...
περι	της	βασιλειας	κατα	το προσφημενον	βασιλειαν.

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as it deprives us of a valuable illustration of the observances of ancient Egypt at the coronation of her kings.

Group 2. The first character is the basket, *neb*, "all" [the insignia] *hi*, "upon;" *ke*, "each."

Group 3. "Shrine."

The word *ke* interposed between the preposition and the noun which it governs, is exactly in conformity with the rule of the Coptic grammar for the use of the particle, ⲕⲉ.

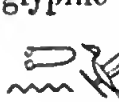
Group 4. *tnm*. Determined by the thigh of an ox prepared for sacrifice, "to rest," "remain." Coptic, ⲧⲟⲛ.

This fragment of a sentence, therefore, seems to have imported, "Let all the crowns be placed upon the shrine [of EPIPHANES.]"

The group, , will require some explanation. The ideas of worth, permanence, substance, are clearly symbolized by the picture of the thigh-bone of an ox, which concludes it. We may, therefore, add it to our list of determinatives of kind.

The enallage, or displacement of the letters in the phonetic part of the group, *tnm*, for *mtn* [ⲧⲟⲛ, Coptic,] are also remarkable. The author of the present work was the first to point out, that in the hieroglyphic transcriptions of the names of certain Canaanitish nations, the first and last letters changed places in two instances; and that, in both instances, that final letter was *t*.* He did not then perceive the motive for this

* "Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth."

change, which is now perfectly apparent to him. It was only for the sake of perspicuity that this transposition was made. Nearly all the homophons of *t*, *th*, occur constantly in the texts, at the end of words, as grammatical forms; and would, therefore, very probably, have been read so. To prevent this mistake, they were transposed to the beginning. The displacement before us has been suggested by exactly similar considerations. The name of the Mars of the Egyptian mythology, , *monthra*, is often abbreviated thus—, *mnt*. He is the *Monthra* of the Greek and Latin inscriptions. It will at once be perceived, that had the second and third characters changed places in the group *tnm*, "to rest," an inconvenient equivoque between *mnt*, and the divine name, *mnt*, would have been the consequence. Had the group *tnm* been written as (if we are to judge from the Coptic texts,) it was pronounced, , *mtn*, another and still greater inconvenience would have arisen. The two last characters, *tn*, are the pronoun of the second person plural, "ye," or "you;" and this is equally the case by whatever homophons the letters are expressed. It is, also, the present inflexion of the verb of the same person and number. (*Gram.* pp. 262, 404.) Still further to increase the inconvenience, the verb, *tn*, "to arise," &c., (Coptic, ⲧⲱⲛ,) is also of very frequent occurrence in the hieroglyphic texts, and with more than one determinative, , &c. &c. The danger of confusion

would, therefore, have been very great. I infer from hence, that it has been for the sake of perspicuity only that the group *tnm*, "to rest," "to repose," has taken its present arrangement.

5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
				
n	*hrr*	*un-hi*	*ke*	

This passage is translated in the Greek, at the beginning of the 44th line, "of the asp-like regalia which are upon the other shrines."*

Group 5. *n*. The sign of the nominative case or subject of the verb, according to the constant use of the corresponding preformant, ⲛ, in the Coptic texts. †

Group 6. The "asp-like regalia" of the Greek, we find from the original to be two crowns, each having in front of them a golden asp, or ureus. The group itself reads *urr*; the reduplication of the *r* being denoted by the two polishers. It was originally the name of the royal crown. In the Coptic texts it is written ⲟⲩⲣⲣⲟ, ⲣⲣⲟ, and signifies king. It is here determined by the two asps. It is of very frequent occurrence, with a picture of the crown itself for a determinative, .

The rest we merely repeat:—

Group 7. { *un*, "being," "which are." (*Dict.* 125.)
{ *hi*, "upon." (*Id.* 55.)

Group 8. *ke*, "the other." (*Id.* 392.)

* των ἀσπιδοειδων βασιλειων των ἐπι των ἀλλων ναων. Line 44.

† Peyron. Lexicon, p. 117.

Group 9. "Shrines." *(Id.* 252.)

The entire sentence seems to have read, "Let all the crowns be placed upon the shrine [of EPIPHANES], [as are] the two asp crowns which are upon the other shrines."

10.	11.	12.
		
au	*shnt*	*m-hrt-ru*

The Greek is, "Let there be in the midst of them the regalé called *pchent.*"*

Group 10. The Coptic verb substantive, ⲁⲛⲟⲩ, "let be."

Group 11.  is a picture of the regalé mentioned in the translation, with its Egyptian name in Greek characters, ΠΧΕΝΤ, *pchent.* The first letter in this word is the Egyptian definite article, the ⲡ of the Coptic grammar. *(Tattam*, p. 13.) This picture is not uncommon in texts of the times of the Rosetta inscription, determining a group of phonetic hieroglyphics, representing the consonants of this word, , *shnt.*† It is not easy to determine under what modification this word remains in the Coptic texts.

Group 12 commences with *m*, "in." Of the two

* ἐσται δ' αὐτων ἐν τῳ μεσῳ ἡ καλουμενη βασιλικα ΨΧΕΝΤ. Line 46.

† Gram., p. 360. I also copied it repeatedly at Denderah, and on the Ptolemaic additions to the temples both of Eastern and Western Thebes.

following characters, the first is the conventional representation of the stomach, or paunch; and the last of the heart. They mean together, "inside the heart;" exactly reproducing the Coptic preposition, ⲛϩⲣⲏⲓ ⲛϩⲏⲧ, *nhrēi nhet;* which, with the same primitive meaning, is habitually used in the texts to signify "in the midst." (*Dict.*, 60.)

The extended plural of *ro*, "of them," concludes the phrase, which conforms exactly with the Greek translation, "Let the royal crown, [called] *shent*, be in the midst of them."

13.	14.	15.	16.	17.
				
djr-nte	*pst*	*ubf*	*....fm*	*....pth*

In the Greek, "wherewith being invested, (or decorated,) he went into [the temple of?] Memphis."*

Group 13 is "wherewith," here, and in another place of this text, which will presently come before us. It is also common with the same sense in other texts. It reads *djr-nte;* and is found in the Coptic grammar in a state of solution, thus, ϫⲉ-ⲣ-ⲛⲧⲉ; the words of the sentence it affects being interposed between each of the syllables.

Group 14. The word *pst* occurs in the Coptic texts only in its derivative ⲛⲥⲉ, "to dress" (in the sense of to cook). But the group before us is of very common occurrence in hieroglyphics, determined, as here, by the disc of the sun emitting rays; and with the exact

* ὡς περιθεμενος εἰσηλθεν εἰς το ἐν Μεμφ....Line 46.

meaning which the Greek assigns to it; περιθεμενος, "invested," "decorated," "crowned."

Group 15. The sense of this group in its common form, (in which the picture of a king sitting,  [*Dict.* 427.] takes the place of the hawk, the symbol of a prince, here applied to EPIPHANES, while yet uncrowned,) was long ago ascertained, by Champollion, without reference to its occurrence in this place. It literally means, "his royal, or princely purity," which is equivalent to our modern phrase, "his majesty," or, "his royal highness."

Group 16. The boat, with the verbal affix of the 3rd person singular, *f*, "he entered," "went," and *m*, "into."

Group 17. The name of Memphis in religion. It means the temple, or divine habitation of Phtha, that is, Vulcan, the local god of that city.

Here again, therefore, the Greek has translated all but literally, "wherewith (*i.e.*, with the diadem *shent*,) his majesty being decorated, entered into Memphis." *Dict.* 429.

18.	19.	20.	21.	22.
				
m-sa-iri nf	*mi-tut-nb*	*nbs*	*st....*	*r-sht*

With the exception of the words, τελεσθη τα νομιζομενα, "the lawful ceremonies had been completed," (line 47.) which is the end of the translation, the rest of the Greek for this phrase has been broken off from the termination of the 44th line. We must, therefore, give the meaning of it from other sources of knowledge.

Group 18. The two first characters, *ms*, are the Coptic conjunction, ⲙⲉⲛ, "after." The rest of the group has been repeatedly analysed. It means, "after he had performed."

Group 19 will also be familiar to the reader, "every lawful ceremony." Above pp. 85, 119.

Group 20 is of common occurrence in texts of all epochs. Champollion translates it, "strength," without indicating any word in the Coptic Lexicon which gives countenance to such a meaning, and being guided by nothing beyond the analogy of the context. (*Dict.* 390.) In its present occurrence such a meaning is impossible. This interpretation of it any where, has never been to us a very satisfactory one. We believe that this word *bes*, or *seb*, means "perfect." The Coptic roots, ⲟⲩⲥ, "to cease," and ⲥⲃⲧⲟ, "perfect," have the same signification, and are composed of the same sounds also. In the passage before us, with the prefix *n*, and determined by the two legs running, it has an adverbial power, and signifies, "completely."

Group 21. *s*, "royal," followed by the picture of a king sitting with the white crown of Upper Egypt upon his head. It means, "the sovereignty of Upper Egypt." *Dict.* 40.

Group 22. "In every temple."

The import, therefore, of this untranslated passage is, "after he had performed completely the ceremonies, [connected with,] the sovereignty of Upper Egypt in every temple."

The Greek of this place must of necessity, from the space it has occupied, have given nothing beyond the

scope of the original. We venture to supply the lacune at the end of the 44th line thus: line 44, εἰς το ἐν Μεμφ [ει ἱερου ὁταν της ἀνω χωρας,] line 45, τελεσθῃ; *i.e.*, "[he entered] the temple in Memphis, when he had completed the prescribed ceremonies of the Upper country." We shall find, hereafter, that in the times of EPIPHANES, and long before, Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, took the precedence in religion of Memphis, the chief city of Lower Egypt.

23. 24. 25.



sh-ft *g-nf* *....hlt*

The Greek is, "on the reception of the sovereignty."* The original is somewhat different.

Group 23. *shft*, "when." (*Dict.* 354.) Perhaps the Coptic ϣⲱⲙ.

Group 24. *gp-nf*, "he received." Coptic, ⲥⲉⲙ. The first character of this group is initial, and here, as in many other places, is used alone instead of the full transcription. (*Dict.* 295.)

Group 25. "The supreme honour," "the sovereignty." (*Dict.* p. 332.) The bird in this group has been begun by mistake with the head of an owl; the hieroglypt has corrected it very clumsily.

26. 27. 28. 29. 30.



m-utut *rta-m* *ma-hi* *ne-nte* *m*

* τῃ παραλῃψει της βασιλειας. Line 45.

31.	32.	33.	34.	35.
				
....	*nfru*	*apn*	*ma-ntru*	*shnt*

The Greek translates this passage "also to put upon the quadrangular tablet concerning the coronation [of EPIPHANES], which is below the aforesaid regalé, (the *shent*,) golden borders."* The rest is lost from the end of line 45.

Group 26. *m-utut*, "Moreover."

Groups 27, 28. *rta*, "to place;" *mma*, "there." Coptic, ⲙⲙⲁⲩ. This idiom is in accordance with the construction of a Coptic sentence. *hi*, "upon." The last character here is the conventional picture of the visible heavens. Richard Lepsius has rightly explained that it follows, as in the present instance, the preposition *hi*, or *hra*, "upon," merely as a determinative of sense.†

Group 29. Here, again, through the unskilfulness of the hieroglypt, the characters are so inscribed as to be illegible without collation with texts of better execution. With their help, we restore it thus, .

The first character, *n*, is the plural definite article ⲛ or ⲛⲓ. The following character is the picture of a block of stone of very common occurrence in the texts as the determinative of a group reading *onr*, in Coptic, ⲱⲛⲉ,

*ἐπιδεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τετραγώνῳ κατὰ τὸ προειρημένον βασιλέων φυλακτήρια χρυ....Line 45.

† Einleitung, p. 146.

"a stone." Affected with the mark of the plural, we read it, therefore, "the stones." The remaining characters are *nte*, "which." (*Dict.* 436.)

Group 30. *m*, "of."

Groups 31, 32. The first character seems to be a picture of the square or model for working quadrangular blocks. Followed by "good," and the plural mark, it means, "of good square;" or, as we should phrase it, "well squared." The three groups together read, "the well-squared stones;" in the Greek, τετραγωνου.

Group 33. *apn*. The plural form of the demonstrative article in Coptic, ⲛⲓⲙⲓⲧ, &c., "those which." (*Dict.* 201.)

Group 34. The two first characters *ma*, represent Coptic noun, ⲙⲁ, "place," which in the language is frequently used as a particle. It here means "near," "close to," like the ⲡⲙⲁ, *pma*, of the Coptic texts. The extended plural of the symbol "god," which follows, has often the sense of "divine," in texts of all ages.

Group 35. "This royal crown," *shent*.

The remainder of the Ninth line is broken off. The fragment of a sentence before us reads literally thus: "also to place upon these well-squared stones which are near the divine *shent*." The crown called *shent*, was the decoration of gods as well as kings. It will be perceived that the Greek extends a little further (and but a little) than the hieroglyphic original in this place.

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE X.



1	2	3	4	5	6	7
...	*hi*	*tub*	*s...*	*ef*	*pu*	
Trans.	with	ceremonies,	offerings,	shall	approach	king of Egypt,
GREEK.			line 46. ἐστιν του βασιλεως			



8	9	10	11	12
s-ut		*djr-ntc*	*un*	
making famous	the two Egypts.	Thereon	is the 30th	of Mesore
του ἐπιφανη ποιητ. τ. τε ἀνω χω. και την κατω.		Και ἐ	ει	την τριακοστ τουτ. Μεσορη



13	14	15	16	17	18
hu-ms	*ntr-nfre-enh*	*tt-t*	*m*	*hbi*	*sha-m*
birth-day [of]	gracious god everliving	appointed	in	general assemblies,	festivals,
τα γενεθλια	του βασιλεως	ἀγεται			



19	20	21	22	23	24
ut		*sheshe-cru*	*n*		*iri-nf*
of the nomes	temples.	Likewise	on	the 17th of Phaophi,	he performed
		ὁμοιως δε και			



25	26	27	28	29	30
ako	*ni*	*st-sha-m*	*gp*	*n*	*stci*
ceremonies	which [are]	the royal feast	of the reception	of	the supreme power
		l. 47. ἐν ᾗ	παρηλαβεν	την	βασιλειαν



31	32	33	34	35
m	*tuif*	*as-ru*	*m-cht-nb*	*nru*
in the place of	his father.	Thence	to all men	the harbingers
παρα	του πατρος	ἀι δη	πασιν	ἀρχηγοι



LINE X.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
					
....	*hi*	*tub*	*s....*	*ef*	*pu*

With the exception of the last group, the translation of this passage is lost from the end of the 45th line of the Greek. The commencement of the sentence has, in like manner, perished either with the end of the Ninth or the beginning of Tenth line of the hieroglyphics. It is long and intricate, occupying very nearly two lines of the translation. The purport of it is evident enough. It appointed, that two days, *viz.*, the 30th of Mesore, the birth-day of EPIPHANES, and the 17th of Phaophi, the day of his coronation, should be named after him in the temples.* This part of the sentence, which is last in the Greek, has been been first in the hieroglyphics, and is, therefore, broken off.

Group 1. The last character of the group we have already found to mean, "Upper and Lower Country."† It has been preceded by the hieroglyphic for "temples." The Greek has translated it, ἐν τοις ἱέροις, line 47, "in the temples."

Group 2. *hi*, "with." *Dict.* 55.

Group 3. *tub*, determined by a man's arm held as in an act of worship. It is the Coptic verb, ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲉ, ⲧⲃⲃⲉ,

* ἐπωνόμους νενομίκασιν ἐν τοις ἱεροις. Line 47. † Above, p. 105.

"purification," "ceremonial of worship." The group means, "ceremonies."

Group 4. The transitive preformant, *s*, qualifying an altar having upon it an offering of bread. Its palpable meaning, therefore, is "offerings." *

Group 5, 6, "shall approach," "be brought." See Line vi. 20. Above, p. 114.

The fragment reads, "in the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt shall be ascribed with ceremonies and offerings [the name]." This word has been lost.

7. 8. 9.



.... *s-ut*

In Greek, "of the king, making illustrious both the Upper and the Lower country." †

Group 7. "The king," literally, "the lord of both Egypts." *Dict.* 130.

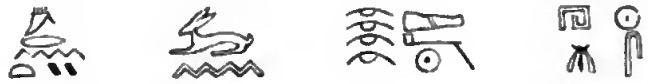
Group 8. Coptic, **сшт**, "to make famous;" (Greek, "make illustrious,") determined by the sun emitting rays. *Dict.* 384.

Group 9, "the Upper and Lower country," "the two divisions being symbolised by the upper and lower parts of the *shent*. *Dict.* 281.

* See also Line xiii. 16.

† του βασιλεως του ἐπιφανη ποιησαντος την τε ἀνω χωραν και την κατω. Line 46.

10. 11. 21. 13.



djr-nte *un* *hu-ms*

14. 15.



ntr-nfre-enh *tt-t*

Greek, "and from this time [hence] the 30th day of this present [month] Mesore, on which the birth-day of the king is celebrated."*

Mesore was the last month of the Egyptian year, which consisted originally of the twelve months of thirty days each. There are, as we have explained,† three seasons only in Egypt, and their calendar was constructed strictly upon this phenomenon. The four months of vegetation or growth, of harvest, and of inundation, all appear in the calendar, p. 144. The names of the months were in use when the Greeks first visited Egypt; they are also used in the Coptic church to this day; but they do not appear to be of any remote antiquity. The import of them is but imperfectly known.

Group 10, with which the passage commences, reads, "wherewith," "whereon."‡

Group 11. *un*, "is," or, "are;" the ordinary meaning of this word.

* και ἐστι την τριακαδα τουτου Μεσορη ἐν ᾗ τα γενεθλια του Βασιλεως ἀγεται. Line 46.

† Above, p. 14. ‡ ix. 13, above p.

EGYPTIAN CALENDAR.

		1st Season, 4 Growing Months.	
I.		ⲑⲱⲟⲩⲧ	Thoouth.
II.		ⲫⲁⲱⲡ	Phaōphi.
III.		ϩⲁⲑⲱⲣ	Hathōr.
IV.		ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲁⲕ	Choeiak.
		2nd Season, 4 Harvest Months.	
V.		ⲑⲱⲃⲓ	Tōbi.
VI.		ⲙⲉⲭⲓⲣ	Mechir.
VII.		ⲫⲁⲙⲉⲛⲱⲑ	Phamenōth.
VIII.		ⲫⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲑⲓ	Pharmouthi.
		3rd Season, 4 Months of Overflow.	
IX.		ⲡⲁϣⲟⲛⲥ	Pashons.
X.		ⲡⲁⲱⲛⲓ	Paōni.
XI.		ⲉⲡⲏⲡ	Epēp.
XII.		ⲙⲉⲥⲱⲣⲏ	Mesōre.

Group 12. "The thirtieth of Mesore." The last character but one is the tail of an animal. It is constantly used to denote the "last" of anything. All the Egyptian months consisted of thirty days.

Group 13. *hu-ms*, the Coptic ϩⲟⲩⲙⲓⲥⲓ, "birth-day," Greek, τα γενεθλια. *(Dict.* 240.)

Group 14. "The gracious god, ever-living," which the Greek paraphrases, του βασιλεως, "of the king."

Group 15. "Is appointed." Greek, ἀγεται.* The last character, *t*, is the sign of the present participle.†

The passage reads literally, "whereon is the thirtieth of Mesore, the birth-day of the gracious god ever-living appointed," *i.e.*, "the thirtieth of Mesore, whereon is appointed [to be observed] the birth-day of the god gracious and ever-living." How remote soever a construction like this may appear from that of any other language with which in Europe we generally become acquainted, it bears a striking resemblance to the idiom of the Coptic texts.

16. 17. 18. 19. 20.



m *hbi* *sha-m* *ut*

This phrase is not translated in the Greek.

Group 16. *m*, "in." *(Dict.* 301.)

Group 17. *hbi*, "general assembly."

Group 18. *sha-m*, "festivals in." *(Dict.* 318, 298.)

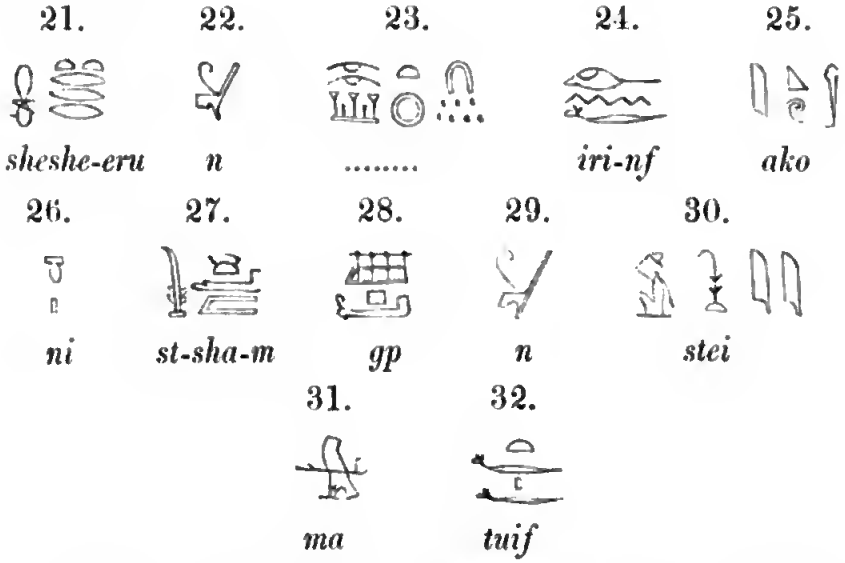
Group 19. The first two characters read *ut*, the Coptic word, ⲟⲩⲟϯ, "to separate by means of boundary

* For the analysis, see line v., group 13; above, p. 103.

† Grammaire, p. 428; Dictionnaire, p. 261, &c.

lines." It is determined by the extended plural of a group, the first character of which, the angle or corner, is one of the symbols of land; the second is a picture of a tank for water. These, and other symbols of land and water, are very frequently combined in the hieroglyphic texts to express the idea of a tract of arable land. The meaning of the group, therefore, is, "provinces," or "provincial."

Group 20. The first character is the picture of a throne, accompanied by the sign of symbolism. The lion's head which follows is the very commonly occurring symbol of "first," "principal." The group means, therefore, "principal divine seats," *i.e.*, "temples." The passage reads, "in a general assembly and festival in [each of] the principal provincial temples." The strictly local nature of the direction embodied in it might have prepared us for its omission in the Greek translation.



Group 21. *sheshē-eru*, "likewise," "also;" in Greek, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ. Line 46.

Group 22. *n*, "in," "on." Here again the fracture of the Greek portion of the block deprives us of about twenty-four letters at the end of Line 46.

Group 23. "The seventeenth* day of the month Phaophi," the second month in the Egyptian year. This obvious reading enables us to fill up with confidence the missing part of Line 46. ὁμοιως δε και....*(fracture Line* 46,*)* [την επτακαιδεκα του φαωφι.] Line 47. εν ᾗ παρελαβεν την βασιλειαν παρα του πατρος. We add to the translation of it the former clause of the passage, that its import may be clearly understood, "And since it has been decreed that the thirtieth of Mesore, on which the birth-day of the king is celebrated, and, in like manner, the seventeenth of Phaophi, on which he received the sovereign power from his father, have both been called by his name."

Group 24. "He performed."

Group 25. A group of phonetics, reading *akō*, determined by the upright mummy case. It is the appellative of some peculiar religious ceremony.

Group 26. "Which." [in which.]

Group 27. *st-sha*, "the royal feast, *m*, "of."

Group 28. *gp*, "the reception."

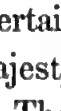
Group 29. *n*, "of," followed by a sitting figure, in the act of placing a crown upon his head. In these late texts this figure often replaces the group which we have already translated, "his majesty," and is drawn in so slovenly a manner as not to be distinguishable

* The hieroglyphic numerals are as follows, 
1, 10, 100, 1000, 10,000

from the female with the basket of earth upon her head.*

Group 30. *stei*, "the supreme power."

Group 31. *ma*, "in the place of;" Coptic, ⲙⲙⲁ.

Group 32. *tuif*, "his father." (*Dict.* 448.) The three first characters, *tui*, are the Coptic word, ⲧⲱⲧ, the letters being transposed in the hieroglyphic inscription, to avoid the confusion which would have been occasioned by putting the polisher, *t*, at the end of the group. So written, , it means "the cerastes," [horned snake,] or some idea of which that reptile is the symbol. We have before explained† that perspicuity has been the motive for all the transpositions of phonetics with which we are acquainted.

The whole passage reads, "Likewise also the seventeenth day of Phaophi, [when] he performed the ceremonies pertaining to the royal festival of the reception of his majesty of the kingly power, in the place of his father." The Greek merely translates it, as we have seen, "In like manner also the seventeenth of Phaophi, on which received the regal power from his father."

33. 34. 35.





aas-ru *m-cht-nb* *nru*

Greek, "Since these are the harbingers of many benefits to all."‡

Group 33. This place exhibits the importance of the

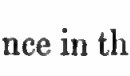
* See above, pp. 94, 95. † Above, p. 131, seq.

‡ αἱ δὴ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρχηγοὶ πασιν εἰσιν. Line 47.

remains of the ancient Egyptian language in the Coptic books to the elucidation of the more ancient transcriptions of it in hieroglyphics, at least as strongly as any in the entire inscription. These texts have not yet received the amount of attention they deserve from the students of the subject. It is, probably, on this account that the Coptic grammar abounds in expletives and vague words, the uses and powers of which are still very imperfectly understood. The conjunctive particle, δη, of the Greek translation of the phrase, which in so many instances is scarcely to be rendered in any other language,* represents a word to the full as vague and untranslatable in the ancient Egyptian, the occurrence of which, line viii., 15, we have already noted. The group before us reads *aas-ru*; the hieroglyphic particle, *as*, which is written with many different characters, has a disjunctive power allied to our "then," or "thence." This is represented by the *aas* of the group. This particle has no equivalent in the Coptic texts; but the remainder of the group, *ru*, or *aru*, is plainly the hieroglyphic transcription of the Coptic particle, ⲁⲣⲏⲟⲩ, which, as we have there explained, is subjoined to other particles, without in any appreciable degree altering their meaning, in a manner exactly similar to δη in Greek. This word is determined by the mummy of an ibis, which means, "body," "substance." It seems probable from hence that the root of the particle, ⲁⲣⲏⲟⲩ, may have been the still existing noun, ⲁⲣⲏⲃ, "pledge." The group means "since," or "thence," like the Greek δη.†

* Liddell and Scott, *voce* δη. † See viii. 15; xiii. 9.

Group 34. *m-cht-nb*, Greek, πασιν, "to all *men*."

Group 35. Imperfect. It seems to be the remains of one of frequent occurrence in the texts,  which is the word *nrou*, Coptic ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲓ, "a vulture," used as a verb, or verbal noun. It is generally translated "to conquer," a sense which it certainly bears in many places. (*Dict.* 430; *Gram.* 73.) It has been here rendered ἀρχηγοι, "authors," or "harbingers."

The phrase means, "since [from being named after EPIPHANES] (the days) are the harbingers of many good things to all men;" in other words, the thirtieth of Mesore, and the seventeenth of Phaophi, are by this decree made into lucky days.

LINE XI.

1.



....*au*....

Group 1. Of this fragment of a sentence not a word of the translation remains. It seems to have perished with the thirty letters which are wanting at the end of line 47 of the Greek. If the two first characters are an entire word, it meant "white," or "shining" (above, p. 95); and the last sentence has been some direction as to the mode of inscribing the festivals of EPIPHANES in the calendar. The remaining two read *au*; Coptic, ⲁⲩⲱ, "and," "also."

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE XI.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7



...au... *mai* *iri-ut-hui* *apn* *hu.....* *m* *nb*

Trans. Also let be observed these days, viz., the 17th and 30th of every month,

GREEK.

8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15



m *m* *nai* *au* *iri-sne*

in general assemblies in tho temples of Egypt. And let them offer

line 48. ἱεροις γυπτου

16 17 18 19 20 21 22



m-utut *ha* .. *skr...* *ha* *iri-sht-nb* *tut*

moreover, offerings peace, libations, and every rite appointed

καὶ θυσιας σπονδας καὶ τ'ἀλλα τα νομιζομενα

23 24 25 26 27 28 29



nai-iri-m *hbu* *m-nb* *apn* *ke* *...nb* *sht-nb*

those performed in general assemblies all those also [of] every month all things

συντελειν ἐν πανηγυρ κατα μηνα

30 31 32 33 34



iri-ut-m *hbu* *apn* *s-au* *sa-nb*

let them be done in general assemblies these. Also it shall be permitted [to] every one

35 36 37

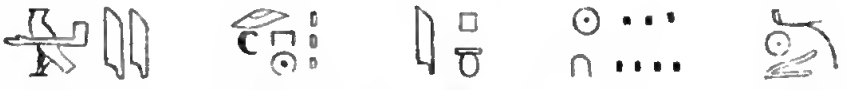


iri-ut-sne *m*

that they perform them in the temples.

l. 49. ἐν τοις ἱεροις

2. 3. 4. 5. 6.



mai *iri-ut-hui* *apn* *hu*..... *m*

7. 8. 9. 10. 11.



nb *m* *m*

12. 13.



nai

Group 2, *mai*. This prefix was explained by Champollion.* It gives an imperative or optative power to the whole of the sentence that commences with them. He discovered this undoubted fact from other texts, passing over, strangely enough, the place before us where the sentence is partly translated. So much of what follows has been analyzed before, that it seems only necessary to give the meanings of the several groups.

Group 3, *iri-ut*, "let be observed," with preceding group; *hui*, "days."

Group 4. *apn*, "these."

Group 5. "the seventeenth day."

Group 6. "the last day," *m*, "of."

Group 7. *nb*, "every," "month." The inverted crescent, followed by a star, is the symbol for a month, as we are informed by Horapollo.

Group 8. *m*, "in."

* Grammaire, p. 421. Dictionnaire, 142.

Group 9. "general assemblies" [panegyries].

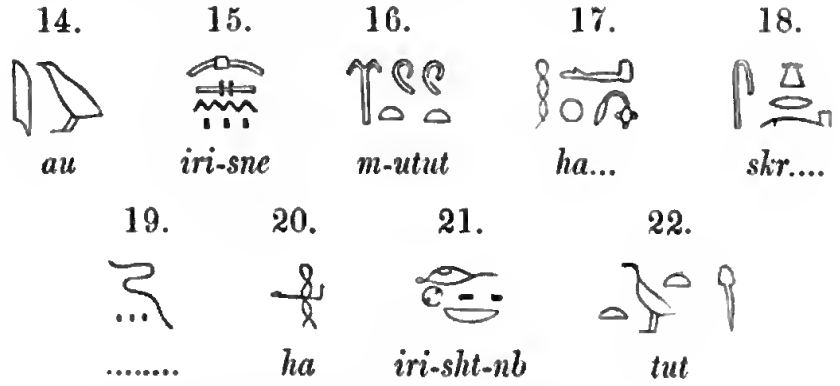
Group 10. *m*, "in."

Group 11. "The temples." The ground-plot of a house, surmounted by an ostrich feather, the symbol of "prescription," "ordinance." Here, as in other inscriptions of public importance, it is written in the extended plural form.

Group 12. *nai*, "belonging to," or "which are of."

Group 13. A sycamore tree, followed by "land;" one of the habitual symbols of Egypt. *(Dict.* 180.)

The only part of the translation of this clause that remains is its conclusion, at the beginning of the 48th line: γυπτον ἱεροις καταμηνα, "in the temples of Egypt monthly." A large portion of the original, as well as the translation, being lost, it is utter vanity to attempt to restore the 47th line. The reader will scarcely need the explanation that the seventeenth and thirtieth days of every month in the year are here directed to be observed as festivals throughout Egypt, because PTOLEMY EPIPHANES was born on the thirtieth of Mesore, and crowned on the seventeenth of Phaophi.



Group 14. *au*, "and." *(Dict.* 190.)

Group 15. *iri-sne*, "let them offer, or perform." The same doubt regarding the first character, as we before noticed (line v., 11, p. 102.) This place certainly confirms our rendering. It is translated συντελειν, "to offer," which everywhere else throughout the translation corresponds to the picture of an eye in the original.

Group 16. *m-utut*, "moreover."

Group 17. *hā*, determined by the picture of one of the sacred cakes of bread, and the flaming brazier. It is the Coptic word ϩι, "to put forth," "to offer;" and signifies a burnt-offering of bread or incense; for both these substances were made up for the altars of Egypt in round cakes.

Group 18. *skr*, followed by a man's arm in the act of worship, representing the Coptic word, ϲⲱⲣϩϩⲧ, "peace." With the preceding group, therefore, it reads, "peace offerings;" in the Greek, θυσιας.

Group 19. Intended for a vase, with a stream of water issuing from it, , the symbol of a "libation." In the plural here "drink offerings," "libations," as the Greek σπονδας.

Group 20. *ha*, "and;" Greek, και.

Group 21. "Every rite."

Group 22. *tut*, "appointed," or "lawful." (See *Dict.* 427.)

The Greek translates the last three groups vaguely, as in other places, και τ'ἀλλα τα νομιζομενα, "and the other lawful ceremonies."

23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.



nai-iri-m *hbu* *m-nb* *apn* *ke* *....nb*

29. 30. 31. 32.



sht-nb *iri-ut-m* *hbu* *apn*

Group 23. *n.* Here the abbreviation of *nai*, "those which;" *iri*, "are performed;" *m*, "in."

Group 24. "General assemblies."

Group 25. "All;" literally, "in all."

Group 26. *apn*, "those which" *(Dict.* 201) [take place.]

Group 27. *ke*, "also." *(Id.* 392.)

Group 28. *....nb*, "every month." *(Id.)*

Group 29. *sht-nb*, "all things."

Group 30. *iri-ut*, "let [them] be done;" (this verb being affected by the optative preformant, *mai*, at the beginning of the sentence Group 2); *m*, "in."

Group 31. *hbu*, "general assemblies."

Group 32. *apn*, "these."

The import of the passage is very evident:—"Also whatever rites and ceremonies are performed in all other general assemblies which recur monthly, let them [the same] also be performed in these general assemblies."

The Greek is again mutilated. The beginning of the sentence is at the end of the 48th line, "According to those things also in the other general assemblies, both those which are made."....* The rest is wanting.

* κατ̀ ἀ και ἐν ταις ἀλλαις πανηγυρισιν ταις τε γινομεναις προ[ς]. ... (32 *letters broken off.)*

Rosetta.

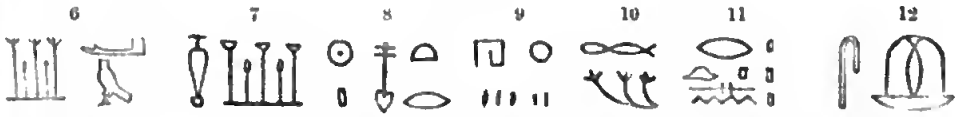
HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE XII.



Ptolmais-enh-pth-mei | *ntr-hr* | *nb-nfru* | *ke* *tr*

Trans. PTOLEMY, everliving, beloved of Phtha, god EPIPHANES, very gracious, yearly

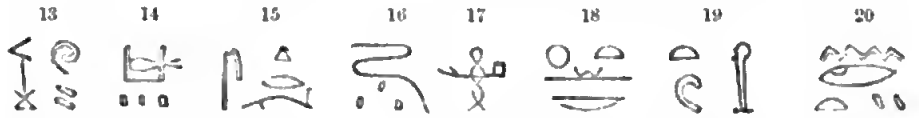
GRK. l. 48. Πτολεμαιου, αἰων. ἠγ υ. τ. Φθα, θεου Επιφανους, ἐυχαριστου. κατ' ἐνι



sha-m | | *hu-nfr-tr* | *hu* | *mh* | *er-ke-sne* | *shbu*

from | the 1st of Thoth, a lucky day, | five days, | they also make garlands, perform [in] general [assemblies

l. 50. ἀπο της νουμηνιας του Θωυθ ἡφ'ἡμερας ἡ στεφανοφορησιν [ἐν αἰς]



shau | *ku* | *skr* | | *ha* | *sht-nb* | *tu* .. | *iri-nte*

many | offerings | peace, | libations, | and | all | rites which are performed [by]

θυσιας σποιδας και τ'αλλα τα νομιζομενα



ubu | *ni* | | *mri-et-bk* | *nb-hi-rn*

the priests | of | the temples [of] Egypt all [of them] in the name of his Majesty



ku-ut-sne | *ub-ntr-hr* | *nb-nfru* | *m-hru*

let them proclaim, | Let [each] priest of the god EPIPHANES, very gracious, | in addition to

ἱερεις του θεου Επιφανους ἐυχαριστου προς



au... .. | *ubu-n-sne* | *ami*

existing honours | they have divinely honoured | [Optative Preformant].

τοις ἀλλοις ὁμ·μασ. τ. θεαν ὡν ἱερατευσι

33. 34. 35. 36. 37.



s-au *sa-nb* *iri-ut-sne* *m*

Of this fragment of a sentence no part of the translation remains, except the words "in the temples," at the beginning of the 49th line. We read it thus:—

Group 33. *sau.* The first character corresponds to the impersonal preformant c of the Coptic grammar. When it thus commences a sentence in the hieroglyphic texts, it seems to denote that the whole phrase is an impersonal one. *au*, "and," "also." We conceive this group to mean, "also it shall be permitted."

Group 34. For the meaning of this group we are again indebted to Champollion. It means, "every one," *i.e.*, "all private individuals."*

Group 35. *iri-ut-sne*, "that they perform them."

Group 36. *m*, "in."

Group 37. "The temples."

The whole means, "also it shall be permitted to all private persons to perform them [the offerings, &c.] in the temples."

LINE XII.

1. 2. 3.



Ptolmais-enh-pth-mei *ntr-hr* *nb-nfru*

4. 5.



ke *tr*

This is the middle of a sentence, the commencement

* Grammaire, p. 312.

of which we have in the Greek, "also to celebrate a festival to PTOLEMY, &c., yearly." Line 49.

Group 1. "PTOLEMY, ever-living, beloved of Phtha."

Group 2. "God EPIPHANES."

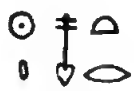
Group 3. "Very gracious."

Group 4. *ke*, "each."

Group 5. *tr*, "year." *(Dict.* 392.)

The Greek is κατ'ἐνιαυτ...., "yearly," and then the fracture at the end of the 49th line commences. The lost part has consisted of at least thirty-five letters, and has been, most probably, repetitions of the name and titles of PTOLEMY, not in the original. This is the only mode in which we can account for the remarkable circumstance that this huge gap is altogether unnoticed in the original. The word χωραν, at the beginning of the 50th line, is not in the original.

The next clause translates exactly the hieroglyphics which immediately follow the phrase we have just considered, and the commencement of which we found in the middle of the 49th line of the translation.

6.	7.	8.
		
sha-m		*hu-nfr-tr*

The Greek is "from the new moon of the month Thoth,"* which being the first month of the year, was of course new year's day. The Egyptian months were strictly lunar, as their hieroglyphic names indicate.

* ἀπο της νουμηνιας του Θωυθ. Line 50.

They were, at first, supposed to commence with the first day of each lunation, and to end with the last.

Group 6. *sha-m*, Coptic, ϣⲁ, "from," "until;" in neither transcription is this word ever applied but to time. It is, in fact, a noun which signifies, "springing," "rising," "commencement." Greek, ἀπο, "from."

Group 7. The name of the month Thoouth, (see above, p. 144,) preceded by a short sword, or dagger, the frequently occurring symbol of the first day of a month, for reasons not yet understood.

Group 8. *hu-nfr-tr*, "a good [lucky] day." The word *tr*, is fully written, . It is the name of the first shoot of a date, or some other palm nut. It was supposed to make its appearance above ground invariably on the first day of the year, and therefore, the picture of this shoot was made the symbol of the year. The word, *tr*, is still to be found, very evidently, in the Coptic words, ⲧⲁⲣ, "the shoot of a tree," and ⲧⲱⲣ, "to stand upright," "fixed in the ground." It was rejected as the name of the year when Egypt became Christian, doubtless, on account of its association with the old idolatry. The word substituted for it in the Coptic books is, ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲉ, *i. e.*, ⲡⲟ-ⲩ-ⲛⲉ, "the face (appearance) of heaven." The syllable, *tr*, is not unfrequently added in the hieroglyphic texts to *nfr*, and other adjectives, when they qualify divisions of time. It is, of course, not translatable.

9. 10. 11.



hu *mh* *er-ke-sne*

In Greek, "for the five days on which they carry about garlands."*

Group 9. *hu*, "day," followed by "five."

Group 10. The girdle, or sash, determined by a wreath of flowers, the Coptic word, ⲙⲁⲍⲉ, "a cincture," "a garland." (Alphabet, No. 82.)

Group 11. *er-ke-sne*, "they also make." The particle, *ke*, "also," is here interposed between the verb and its affix in exact accordance with the rules of the Coptic grammar.

The whole clause reads, "the five days, also, [on which] garlands are made," and of course brought as offerings to the temples.

12. 13. 14. 15.



s-hbu *shau* *ku* *skr*

16. 17. 18. 19. 20.



.... *ha* *sht-nb* *tu...* *iri-nte*

* ᾧ ἡμέρας πέντε ἐν αἷς καὶ στεφανοφοροῦσιν. Line 50.

21. 22. 23. 24.



ubu *n i* *mri-et-bk*

25. 26.



nb-hi-rn *ku-ut-sne*

The Greek of the first clause only of this passage remains; the rest of it has disappeared with the thirty-seven letters that are wanting at the end of the 50th line, with the exception of a part of the first word. The fragment may be translated thus: "performing sacrifices and libations, and the other proper rites; to proclaim"*

Group 12. The symbol of "general assembly," affected by the transitive prefix, *s*, means "to do," "to perform" (in general assembly).

Group 13. *shau*, "many," "multitude." The initial phonetic , determines this import. (See Alphabet, No. 150.)

Group 14. In its present very imperfect transcription, we are not able to identify the principal character of this group in other texts, where, being better drawn, its meaning might be more satisfactorily ascertained. We strongly incline to the opinion that the cross

* συντελουντες θυσιας και σπονδας και τἀλλα τα καθηκοντα; προς αγορευ *(thirty-seven letters wanting)*. Line 50.

line or cord has been an error, which, to save the trouble of erasing, the hieroglypt has over-written with the correction , in better texts , which is two arms held up in an act of worship, one of the well ascertained symbols of the ideas, "offering," "religious rite;" having, moreover, the phonetic power of *k*, and frequently used as the initial of the syllable *ka*, the Coptic word, ка, "to offer," "to present as an offering."* With this correction, which we offer with much confidence, the whole group will read, "to perform the rites [peculiar to] a general assembly."

Group 15. *skr*, "peace offerings."

Group 16. "Drink offerings," "libations."

Group 17. *ha*, "and."

Group 18. *sht-nb*, "all."

Group 19. *tu*, determined by the upright mummy case; represents the Coptic verb, таю, "to honour," "to praise."

Group 20. The waved line *n*, with the two concluding characters *te*, making together the pronoun, , *nte*, "which;" the word it affects (the eye, "do," "perform") being interposed between the two particles of which *nte* is composed; an arrangement of not unfrequent occurrence in both transcriptions of this ancient language.

In these six groups, therefore, we have the clause of which the Greek translation remains, being, as usual,

* Dictionnaire, p. 112. See Alphabet, No. 59.

far from literal. The import of the original was, "performing in general assembly, "panegyry"; (or, as we can express it still more literally in English, "panegyrizing,) with religious services, peace offerings, libations, and all the customary acts of thanksgiving."

Group 21. "The priests,"

Group 22. *nai*, "who belong to"

Group 23. "the temples"

Group 24. "of Egypt."

Group 25. "All [of them]" *hi*, "in," *rn*, "the name" "of his majesty,"

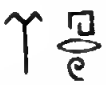
Group 26. "let them proclaim."

"Let it be proclaimed [moreover] by all the priests of the temples of Egypt in the name of his majesty."

The imperfect word, προσαγορευ, is all that remains of the translation of this clause.

27. 28. 29. 30. 31.

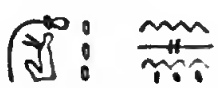






ub-ntr-hr *nb-nfru* *m-hru* *au....*

32. 33.




ubu-n-sne *ami*

The Greek of this fragment of a sentence is itself also a fragment, forty letters at least being missing, from the end of the 51st line. It reads thus, "also let the priests of the god EPIPHANES, very gracious, in addition to the other names of the gods to whom they minister;

and, notwithstanding, the [honours due?] to all the oracles and to the....."*

Group 27. *ub*, "the priests." the vessel of purification, followed by the symbol of divinity; *ntr*, [of] "the god;" *hr*, "EPIPHANES,"

Group 28. *nb-nfru*, "very gracious."

The two groups read together, "let each priest of EPIPHANES, very gracious,"

Group 29. *m-hru*, "in addition to,"

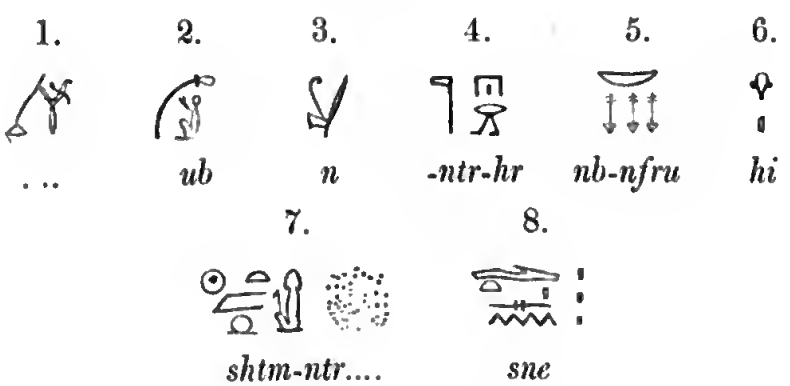
Group 30. *āu*, "being," "existing."

Group 31. "honours," "titles," "honorific names." (*Dict.* 332.)

Group 32. *ub-n-sne*, "which were not (heretofore) divinely honoured." literally, "perlustrated."†

Group 33. *ami*, most probably the imperative preformant; but the rest of the sentence is broken off.

LINE XIII.



Of this fragment of a sentence the Greek is entirely

* και του θεου επιφανους ευχαριστου ιερεις προς τοις αλλοις ονομασιν των θεων ων ιερατευουσι και καταχωρις αι εις παντας τους χρηματισμους και ει's τους α..... Line 51.

† See on the negative affix, ii. 14; above, p. 77.

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE XIII.



1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	ub	*n*	*ntr-hr*	*nb-nfru*	*hi*	*shtm-ntr..*

Trans. the divine honours of god EPIPHANES, very gracious, upon the divine seal-rings [on]

GREEK.



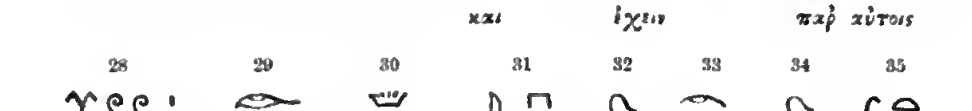
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
sne	*as-areu*	*su*	*uns*	*m*		*unnu-sa...*
their hands.	And also	to him	it is	in	his power	any one
	l. 52. δη			ἐξουσι		ἰδιωτοις



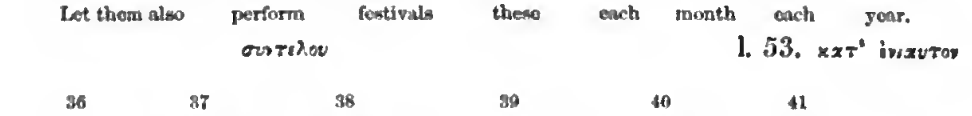
15	16	17	18	19	20
nte-sne	*ub-sa*	*ska*	*shsh*		*tn*
that they	may feast in private [and]	set up	likewise	shrine	this
τοις αλλοις	ἀγειν την ἑορτην	ἱδρυεσθαι	το προειρημενον		ναον



21	22	23	24	25	26	27
n	*ntr-hr*	*nb-nfru*	*r-rta*	*unn*	*s-m-eit*	*sne*
of	god EPIPHANES, very gracious,		that it	may be	in their	houses.
			καὶ	ἐχειν	παρ' αὐτοις	



28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
m-utut-sne	*iri-nbu*	*shu*	*apn*	*ke...*	...	*ke*	*tr*
Let them also	perform	festivals	these	each	month	each	year.
	συντελου				l. 53. κατ' ἐνιαυτον		



36	37	38	39	40	41
r-rte	*dju-ut*	*unn*	*hmu*		*ha-sl*
That it may be known why		each	inhabitant	of Egypt	also consecrates
ὁπως γνωριμον	ᾖ	διοτι	οἱ	ἐν Αιγυπτῳ	αὐξουσι

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lost from the end of the 51st line, with the exception of the words, "his consecration" (ἱερατειαν αὐτου), being its conclusion at the beginning of the 52nd line.

Group 1. "The honours," "titles."

Group 2. *ub*, "pure," *i. e.*, "divine."

Group 3. *n*, "of"

Group 4. *ntr-hr*, "god EPIPHANES,

Group 5. *nb-nfru*, "very gracious,

Group 6. *hi*, upon." *(Dict.* 55.)

Group 7. *shtm*, the Coptic, ϣⲧⲁⲓ, "to shut up," "close," *id.* 358. The determinative is a seal-ring of the exact form of those of which so many have been found in the catacombs of Egypt, and which are common in all great collections of Egyptian antiquities. It was called the "closer" because of its constant use for sealing up writings on papyrus, of every description. The sitting figure with the sceptre is the first character of the epithet "divine," "sacred," applied to the seal-ring.

The rest of the group has been altogether erased by an injury on the face of the block.

Group 8. A human hand, with the sign of symbolism: *sne*, "their;" together, "their hands."

The entire passage reads, "the divine titles of EPIPHANES, very gracious, upon the sacred seal-rings on their hands." The lost sentence, therefore, has been an order to the priests of EPIPHANES to wear on their hands seal-rings engraven with the name of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES. The very frequent occurrence of seal rings with the names of kings upon them among the remains of ancient Egypt, gives the strongest of all possible confirmations to the truth of this reading.

9. 10. 11. 12. 13.



as-areu *su* *uns* *m*

14. 15. 16.



unnu-sa.... *nte-sne* *ub-sa*

The Greek is, "moreover, also, that it be lawful to other private persons to celebrate the feast."*

Group 9. *as-areu*, the vague words, *as* ΑΡΗΤ, the meanings of which in the hieroglyphic and Coptic texts we have already explained. The group has here, also, the disjunctive power which we have assigned to it in the two other places of its occurrence.† It is translated, δε και, "also," "moreover."

Group 10. *su*, "to him," "to them." This form of the dative pronoun in both numbers is substituted for the commoner forms in certain cases, to avoid repetition and confusion. *Dict.* pp. 221, 222.

Group 11. *uns*, "it is," the final *s*, being the Coptic impersonal affix c.

Group 12. *m*, "in."

Group 13. "his arm," *i. e.*, "his power," "capability." We give this symbolic use of the group as one hitherto unobserved, but very common in all texts.

* ἐξεινα δε και τοις ἀλλοις ἰδιωταις ἀγειν την ἑορτην. Line 52.

† viii. 15, p. 127; also, x. 33, p. 149.

Group 14. *unnu*, followed by the picture of a man sitting, which is *sa*, "a person," "any-one," and the mark of the plural. The group means exactly, "all persons whoever they be."

Group 15. *nte-sne*. "that they."

Group 16, the altar with the shew-bread, followed by the leg, *b*, and the sitting figure, *sa*, "personal," "private." We have already noticed the symbolic use of the first character, to denote a religious festival.* In this place (viciously, as we believe,) it has the phonetic power of *u*, as well as its symbolical import. The group reads, therefore, *ub*, and means, "a private religious festival." We translate the whole, thus:—"Also it shall be in the power of all persons whatsoever to observe this festival in private."

17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22
					
ska	*shsh*		*tn*	*n*	*ntr-hr*

23.	24.	25.	26.	27.
				
ub-nfru	*r-rte*	*unn*	*s-m-eit*	*sne*

The Greek is, "and to consecrate the aforesaid shrine, and to have it in their houses"* [literally, "with themselves"].†

* x. 4, above p. 142.

† και τον προειρημενον ναον ἱδρυεσθαι και ἐχειν παρ' αὐτοις. Line 52.

Group 17. *s-ka*, the Coptic verb, ⲕⲁ, "to set upright."

Group 18. *shsh*, "likewise."

Group 19. "shrine.

Group 20. *tn*, the Coptic pronoun, ⲧⲓⲛ, "this."

Group 21. *n*, "of."

Groups 22, 23. "god EPIPHANES,* very gracious."

Groups 24, 25. *r-rte-unn-s*, "that it may be," Coptic, ⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲣⲉⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛⲥ. This phrase furnishes a strong evidence of the identity of the two languages.

Groups 26, 27. *s-m-eit-sne*, "in their houses."

The whole means, and "to set up likewise, the shrine of the god EPIPHANES, very gracious, that it may be in their houses."

28.	29.	30.	31.
			
m-utut-sne	*iri-nbu*	*shu*	*apn*

32.	33.	34.	35.
			
ke....		*ke*	*tr*

Again the Greek is mutilated: "and to perform," ⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉⲗⲟⲩ, line 52, is the commencement of the clause. Nearly one quarter of the 52nd line is gone. The passage, however, presents no difficulties.

Group 28. *m-utut-sne*, "let them also." The two polishers, *tt*, have been omitted in this very slovenly text.

Group 29. *iri*, "perform," *nbu*, "all."

* Dictionnaire 291, where see the entire clause.

Group 30. *shu*, "festivals." *Dict.* 329.

Group 31. *apn*, "these." *Dict.* 201.

Group 32. *ke*, "each," [The Coptic, ⲕⲉ, also means "each."]

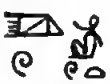
Group 33. "Month." *Dict.* 392.

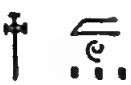
Group 34. *ke*, "each;"

Group 35. *tr*, "year." Greek, κατ' ἰνιαυτον. Line 53. *Dict.* 392.

The meaning of the phrase is, "let them, moreover, keep all these festivals, both the monthly and the yearly ones."

36. 37. 38. 39.



r-rte *dju-ut* *unn* *hmu*

40. 41.




.... *ha-sl*

The Greek and its original are alike mutilated here. Again, however, there is no difficulty. The beginning of the sentence is in the 53rd line, "that it may be understood why the inhabitants of Egypt advance and honour the god EPIPHANES, most gracious, their king as is lawful."*

Groups 36, 37. *rrte-dju-tu*, "that it may be known."

Group 38. *unn*, "being," "individual."

Group 39. *hmui*, "inhabitants."*

* ὁπως γνωριμον ᾖ διοτι οἱ ἐν Αιγυπτῳ ἀυξουσι και τιμωσι τον θεον ἐπιφανη εὐχαριστον βασιλεα καθ'ἁπερ νομιμον ἐστιν ... *(above forty-five letters wanting.)* Line 53.

Group 40. "Egypt;" literally, "the land of houses and fields." , is a corrupt mode of writing, , which is very common in texts of this bad epoch. It literally means, "the double habitation," alluding, doubtless, to the fact that both banks of the Nile are inhabited. In other texts it is of not uncommon occurrence, determining the word, *iur*, Coptic ⲓⲁⲣⲟ, "river," *i.e.*, the Nile. .†

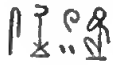
Group 41. *ha*, "also;" *sl*, "place in a shrine," "consecrate."‡

The whole means, "that it may be known [why] every individual inhabitant of Egypt also consecrates."

LINE XIV.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
					
schai	*pn*	*hi*	*koi*	*nte-nsht*	*rt-m*

The Greek of this part also has disappeared from the end of the 53rd line, and from the beginning of the 54th, with the exception of the letters τερεου λιθου, "of hard stone," *pietra dura*.

Group 1. This imperfect group we can restore. . *schai*, "writing," "written documents." It

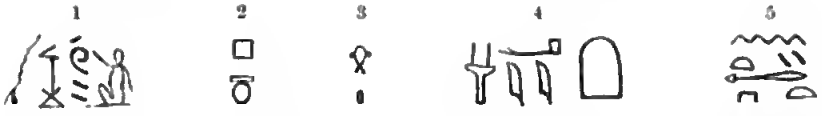
* Dictionnaire, p. 439 ; Grammaire, p. 482.

† Book of the Dead, pl. 6, 15, 37, &c. &c.

‡ Line viii.. 9 ; above, p.126.

Rosetta.

HIEROGLYPHICS, LINE XIV.

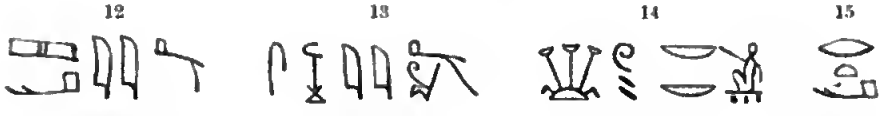


	1	2	3	4	5
	schai	*pn*	*hi*	*koi*	*nte-nht*
Trans.	writing	this	upon	a tablet	of hard stone

GREEK. l. 54. τερεου λιθου



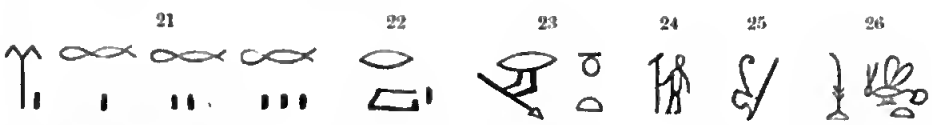
	6	7	8	9	10	11
	rt-m	*m*	*schai*	*n-ntr-tu*	*schai*	*n*
	granite in		writing	sacred,	writing	of
	τοις τε			ιερους		καὶ



	12	13	14	15
	shai	*schai-n*		*rta*
	the country,	writing of	the Greeks,	that it may
	ἐγχωριους καὶ		Ἑλληνικους	καὶ



	16	17	18	19	20
	ka...f	*m*		*mre-et-bk*	*nb-hi-rn*
	be set up	in	the temples	of Egypt all	in the king's name
	στησαι	ἐν ἱεροστυ			



	21	22	23	24	25	26
	mmh-I *mh*-II *mh*-III	*r-ma*	*sl-nt*	...	*n*	*st* ...
	of the first, second, third [degrees]	where [is]	consecrated	image	of	the king
	των τε πρωτων καὶ δευτ.					



	27	28	29
	Ptolmais-enh-pth-mei	*ntr-hr*	*nb-nfru*
	PTOLEMY, ever-living, beloved of Phtha,	god EPIPHANES,	very gracious

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE" NAPOLI

is the Coptic word, ϲϩΑΙ, which has precisely the same import. Determined by a man with his hand to his mouth, the symbol of speech, it means "proclaimed document," "decree."

Group 2. *pn*, "this."

Group 3. *hi*, "upon."

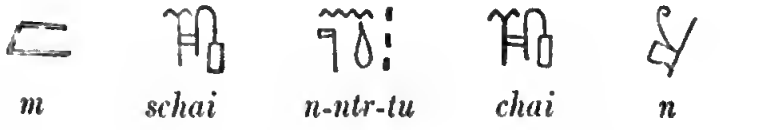
Group 4. *kai*. The Egyptian name of the tablet, the picture of which follows, . On such tablets acts of religion like this were always engraven in Egypt. On the upper portion of it (A) was a relief, representing the scene described in the 39th line of the Greek. The inscription occupied the remaining part. So that, singularly enough, we are enabled to restore the outline of the tablet of Rosetta, from a picture sculptured on the fragment of it that remains.

Group 5. So very imperfect is the sculpture here, that we are again compelled to identify the characters by collation with texts more distinctly written. The first three characters read  *nte*, "which is." The word intended to be represented by the rest of the group is distinctly written thus, , on innumerable monuments of granite, and other hard substances. The first character is the pike, or spear, which we have already read as the initial letter of the words *na*, or *nsht*. The corresponding Coptic word to the latter of these, ⲛϫⲥⲧ, means "hard," as well as "great." Its hieroglyphic representative has the same double meaning; and in the present instance, combined with the picture

of a stone and the sign of symbolism, it means "hard stone," as it is exactly translated in the Greek.

Group 6. An instrument used in midwifery. It determines the word, *rt;* often, as in the present instance, merely denoting the sound. This syllable had in the ancient texts a sense which has not yet been discovered in any Coptic transcription. It meant "the grey granite," or "granitic basalt," on which kind the tablet of Rosetta was sculptured. It is of very common occurrence with this meaning. The whole reads, therefore, "of hard grey granite."*

7. 8. 9. 10. 11.



m *schai* *n-ntr-tu* *chai* *n*

12. 13. 14.



shai *schai-n*

The Greek is, "in sacred, and demotic, and Greek characters, or writings.†

Group 7. *m*, "in."

Group 8. "Writings." (*Dict.* 303.)

Group 9. "Divine." (*Dict.* 304.)

Group 10. "Writings."

Group 11. *n*, "of."

Group 12. *shai*, "the country," Greek, ἐγχωριοις. This word has occasioned much trouble to those

* Dictionnaire, 292. Where the entire clause is restored somewhat differently. Bunsen follows Champollion.—*Egypt's Place*, p. 598.

† τοις ἱεροις και ἐγχωριοις και ἑλληνικοις γραμμασιν. Line 54.

who have studied the subject. The determinative is a penknife, which is common to all groups signifying words connected with writing. In an inscription of the times of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, which once existed on the island of Philœ, near the cataract, and was copied by Mr. Salt, thirty years ago, the hieroglyphic name of the demotic or vulgar writing, was inscribed thus:— , which means, "writing of all the lands, or provinces." This collation furnishes a key to the import of the word, *shai*. It means, "common," "vulgar." A form of it remains in the Coptic texts with a meaning closely allied to it. The word, ϣⲁⲓ, means, "widely extended." The group reads, therefore, "vulgar writing," or, "writing of the common people." *Dict.* 304.

Group 13. *schai*, "writing," determined by the penknife; *n*, "of." *Dict.* 386.

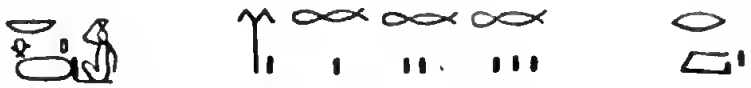
Group 14, "the Greeks;" literally, "the northern lords of both countries," *i.e.*, of Upper and Lower Egypt. The determinative ought to have been the figure of a captive bound to a stake , but the sycophancy of the hieroglypt has only permitted him to engrave a man sitting, *sa*, the symbol of individuality. The Greeks are thus designated in all hieroglyphic texts of the Ptolemaic era. The group has been long known to students. It is remarkable that its far from difficult analysis has never before been given. *Dict.* 386.

15. 16. 17. 18. 19.



rta *ka....f* *m* *mre-et-bk*

20. 21. 22.



nb-hi-rn *mmh*-I *mh*-II *mh*-III *r-ma*

23. 24. 25. 26.



sl-nt *n* *st*

27. 28. 29.



ptolmais-enh-pth-mei *ntr-hr* *nb-nfru*

The few words that remain at the end of the 54th and last line of the Greek, are the beginning of the translation of this passage. They read, "and to set up in each of the first and second....."* More than fifty letters would be required to square this line with those that precede it. We, however, no longer need a translation.

Groups 15, 16. *rta-ka-f*, "and that it [the tablet] may be set up," or, "sculptured."

Group 17. *m*, "in."

Group 18. "The temples."

Group 19. Of "Egypt."

* και στησαι εν εκαστω των πρωτων και δευτερων ...Line 54.

Group 20. "All" [of them] "in the name of his majesty."

Group 21. *m*, "of," *mh*,-I. "the first," *mh*,-II. "the second," *mh*-III. "the third," [ranks, or degrees,] understood.

Group 22. *r-ma*, "where," Coptic, ⲉⲣⲏⲓ.

Group 23 "[is] a consecration," *nt*, "of."

Group 24. "A statue."

Group 25. *n*, "of;"

Group 26. "the king."

Group 27. PTOLEMY, everliving, beloved of Phtha."

Groups 28, 29. "God EPIPHANES, very gracious."

Our purpose in laying before the reader this long, and, as we fear, tedious analysis of a mutilated text, having no other point of interest to recommend it to his notice, than that it is accompanied by a Greek translation, we have already endeavoured to explain. We answer, hereby, a just and reasonable demand which every man has a right to make upon us, at the threshold of our subject. The difficulties, be they what they may, which surround the Rosetta inscription, whether arising from mutilation, from the intricate nature of the mode of writing, or from the corrupt phraseology of the epoch to which it belongs, are so far counterbalanced by the advantage of an acknowledged translation in a known language accompanying it, that until they have been overcome, it is mere trifling with the common sense of the general reader to ask his confidence in our interpretations of texts which have not this advantage.

The materials for the history before us we repeat it, and we cannot repeat it too often, are altogether embodied in untranslated hieroglyphic texts. We present the reader, therefore, with this most necessary preface, as the ground on which we rest our claim to his confidence in our interpretations.

CHAPTER III.

MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.—BUNSEN'S LABOURS.—HERODOTUS'S VISIT TO EGYPT.—HIS CHARACTER.—GREEK SETTLERS IN EGYPT. HERODOTUS'S DRAGOMAN OR INTERPRETER.—DIODORUS, THE SICILIAN. HIS VISIT TO EGYPT.—THE HISTORIES OF EGYPT BY HERODOTUS AND DIODORUS.—CAUSES OF THEIR IMPERFECTNESS.—RICHARD LEPSIUS.—MANETHO.—HIS LISTS OF KINGS, THE GROUNDWORK OF THIS HISTORY. —ERATOSTHENES.—EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.—DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN MANETHO AND ERATOSTHENES.—EXPLANATION OF THESE.—EXAGGERATIONS OF THE EGYPTIAN PRIESTS.—THE BIBLE AS AN AUTHORITY ON THIS QUESTION.—THE MONUMENTS.—THEIR NUMBER, MAGNITUDE, AND BEAUTY.—EXTRACT FROM LEPSIUS.—REASON OF THE FAILURE OF THE WRITERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES TO COMPILE A HISTORY OF EGYPT.

SECTION A.

THE GREEKS.

Upon these sources of our knowledge of Egyptian history the labours of the illustrious and learned Bunsen have left nothing to be desired. In his work we are put in possession both of the Greek text restored to its original purity by his laborious collations of manuscripts and most sagacious emendations, and also with his own very learned and talented commentary upon it. The advance which the study has made

through the labours of Bunsen in this department, yields only in value and importance to the recovery by Champollion of the key to the hieroglyphic texts. We gladly embrace this early opportunity of acknowledging our deep obligations to him. Our present brief catalogue of materials is mainly from his pages, or on the authority of his texts. To them we must refer such of our readers as may be inclined to make an especial study of this part of our subject.

Herodotus of Halicarnassus, the well-known historian of Greece in the days of Pericles, visited Egypt as a traveller in search of information, about the year 443, B.C. At the time of his visit, Egypt had partially succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Persia, which CAMBYSES had laid upon her about a century before. Herodotus was in all his prepossessions a Greek: he had that lofty contempt for the surrounding barbarians, by which the Greeks were always distinguished. He deemed the acquisition of any foreign tongue an effort utterly unworthy of one who had been nurtured in the bosom of Hellas, and whose natural and mother-utterance was the music of her most tuneful periods. He believed the mythology of his country to be the true religion; and all other mythic systems to be corruptions or perversions, of it. He, therefore, in his pages, which embrace the histories of nearly all the then known nations of the world, invariably applies to the gods of other nations the names of the mythic beings of his own belief, with whom he assumed them to be identical. He was, moreover, a sincere believer and devout practiser of his own religion; and, doubtless in

consequence of this sincerity, was very scrupulously veracious in recording exactly the accounts and narrations which he heard in the course of his travels. In these last two particulars the character of Herodotus shews itself in most favourable contrast with that of his fellow-countrymen and descendants of the subsequent epochs of Grecian history. The reader will, however, have almost collected for himself the materials for judging of his qualifications as an historian. Along with a multitude of other Greeks, idlers and sight-seers, some in search of amusement, others in pursuit of what was then called learning, Herodotus visited Egypt. He found settled in that country in vast numbers another class of his fellow-countrymen, who had gone thither in pursuit of gain, attracted by the many lucrative callings to which the constant stream of rich Greek travellers through Egypt, gave birth. These were the keepers of shops in Heliopolis, Memphis, and other great cities, in which were displayed vestures, trinkets, arms, &c., fashioned according to the taste of Attica. An humbler, and far more numerous class of Greek residents in Egypt, found gainful occupations in the immediate and personal service of wealthy travellers like Herodotus. They were engaged as valets, couriers, guides, and, above all, as dragomans, or interpreters. It is exactly according to the analogy of all similar cases to infer that they were also in league with the priestly curators of the temples, the palaces and the pyramids which the Greeks crowded to see, and that arrangements were made between them to their own advantage, and to the loss of the travellers. Under

these circumstances a traveller like Herodotus would evidently be altogether at the mercy of the resident Greeks, whom on his arrival in Egypt he engaged to attend upon him. He seems to have been unfortunate in his selection. His principal dragoman was, in all probability, a Phrygian, or a native of some other country of Asia Minor, where Greek was not vernacular. In addition to this, the man was clearly very imperfectly acquainted with the Egyptian language; so that the position of Herodotus in Egypt somewhat resembled that of an Englishman of the present day, who, ignorant of Arabic, should attempt to collect from their own traditions the history of the Arab tribes of the deserts adjacent to the valley of the Nile, with the assistance of a Maltese dragoman only. The English of the interpreter is scarcely intelligible to the traveller. The vile patois of his island is the utter scorn of the Arab chiefs with whom he has to hold communication; who, therefore, find amusement in puzzling and misleading him. Herodotus's history of Egypt has about the amount of value, as history, which would be possessed by the published notes of an English traveller so circumstanced. It is a chaotic mass of notices, compiled from the bad, perhaps scarcely intelligible jargon of his dragoman; wherein the man attempted to translate into Greek, of which he knew little, the narratives of the priests in Egyptian, of which he knew still less. There is a certain amount of truth lying under a series of mistakes, blunders, and misapprehensions, in almost every chapter of his book on Egypt.

Diodorus the Sicilian, the devoted admirer of

Herodotus, visited Egypt about four hundred and fifty years after his time, or just before the commencement of the Christian era. Egypt in his days was a Roman province. This writer seems to have confined himself more to what he actually saw, and to have been at less trouble in recording the priestly narratives translated by his dragoman, than Herodotus. His work is the more valuable on this account, but in his great anxiety to make Herodotus his text book, from which not the slightest deviation was to be permitted, he has fallen into historical blunders even greater than those of his predecessor.

The works, therefore, of Herodotus and Diodorus contain many notices touching the history of Egypt; but so hopelessly are they involved in mis-statements and mistakes, both in fact and chronology, through the causes we have explained, that it is only by the careful collation of them with other records contained in other sources of knowledge, that they can in general be made available for the purposes of history. How completely we are now able to make this use of them, it will be one part of our duty in the course of the work before us to exhibit to the reader. For one of the ablest epitomes of this our knowledge, and at the same time the greatest triumph of minute historical criticism that ever was achieved, we refer with pleasure, we had almost written with pride, to the learned pages of Richard Lepsius. *(Kritik der Quellen, pp.* 243, 314.) It will be found there that the chaotic mass of confused notices heaped together by these authors, assume, under the hand of modern research, the orderly

arrangement and chronological symmetry of exact history.

Our present notice contemplating nothing more than a mere indication of the principal sources of our knowledge of Egyptian history from the classic authors, we pass by Strabo, Pliny, and many others, to make our readers acquainted with the far more important labours of those of them who have written upon, and given us extracts from, the lists of kings of Egypt, accompanied by brief histories which were preserved in the temples by the priests.

Manetho of Sebennytus (a city in the Delta), is the author whose works possess by far the greatest amount of value and importance to our subject of any that have come down to us from the Greeks. He was a priest who had acquired the knowledge of Greek. At the command of PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, he translated into that language the lists of kings in the temples, and also their accompanying historical notices. Of the latter of these works, only a few extracts remain, quoted in the pages of other authors. The list of kings has happily been preserved to us by the Jewish and Christian chronologers of the first and second centuries. It is solely by the aid of this list that we are able to arrange chronologically the historical facts recorded either by the Greek authors, or on the existing remains of Ancient Egypt. We shall make these lists the ground plot of the inquiry before us, following throughout Manetho's arrangement exactly. There is no other course possible, as from him alone have we derived anything like certain knowledge

regarding the chronology of the history of Ancient Egypt.

The personal character of Manetho has been made the subject of unbounded eulogy by Bunsen and Lepsius, to both of which eminent scholars we are indebted for large illustrations of his remains: the authority of the former (*Eg. pl. p.* 56) for the strict integrity of the priest of Sebennytus being certain expressions in his favour from George Syncellus who flourished at Constantinople some one thousand years after Manetho's death. We must confess that we can see nothing in his existing works which affords any ground for the decision of such a question. Of his historical labours a few isolated fragments only are left; of his chronological works an imperfect list of kings with the dates of their reigns in inextricable confusion is all that remains to us. It is from the *fleshless skeleton*, as Lepsius forcibly expresses it, that we have to form our judgment of the symmetry and personal beauty of the man. We must confess our own inability to arrive at so strong a conclusion upon premises so indistinct and shadowy.

There is a very important consideration arising out of the lists of Manetho which we cannot too soon introduce to the notice of our readers. The sum of the reigns of all the kings of Egypt who sat on the throne from MENES the first monarch, to ALEXANDER of Macedon, who finally overthrew the monarchy, amounts together to 5462 years according to one computation. But Manetho informs us, at the end of his lists, that the time actually occupied by this

succession was 3555 years only. This strange variation is in itself suggestive of some design very far removed from that of historical accuracy in the fabrication of the larger number.

Eratosthenes is another Greek author to whom we are indebted for some aid in deciding the difficult question of Egyptian chronology. He was a Greek of Syrene in North Africa. In point of time he was somewhat later than Manetho. He is supposed to have been librarian of Alexandria in the days of PTOLEMY EUERGETES (*Eg. pl. p.* 119). None of his works remain, but a few quotations from them are preserved in the pages of other authors. Amongst these is a canon or key to the chronology of Egypt consisting of a list of thirty-eight kings who reigned in succession during the 1076 years that elapsed between the foundation of Memphis by MENES, and the capture of that city by the shepherd kings during the reign of the last of these old Pharoahs, whom he names *Amun-timæus*. These were succeeded by fifty-three successive monarchs, with the last of whom the empire terminated on the accession of ALEXANDER the Great. Such is certainly the meaning of Eratosthenes and his citators in this passage. Bunsen discerns in these fifty-three monarchs the shepherd kings of his Middle Kingdom: a favourite theory of his, which he seems disposed to support at a considerable expense of historical probability, and perhaps also occasionally of accurate rendering of the text of his Greek authorities also.

It is here needful to state that the German students

of our subject assume these canonical or key numbers both of Manetho and Eratosthenes as established facts of history. Bunsen on the whole rather inclines to the authority of Eratosthenes (*Eg. pl. p.* 120), and Lepsius to that of Manetho (*Kritik der Quel.* 512). But with neither does there appear to be any doubt as to the perfect admissibility of both numbers as chronological data. We do not in any way pronounce an opinion upon the question at this stage of our undertaking. We prefer stating clearly the fact, that the archives of the kings of Egypt kept in the temples admitted of three different modes of summation, and that the comparison of the two that have come down to us complete, shows the enormous discrepancy of nearly two thousand years.

Some of the inferences that arise from this comparison of Manetho with himself and with Eratosthenes, we now lay before the reader. There are many others which we shall also have to discuss, but we reserve them until we come to consider the circumstances in which they originate.

I. Some of the dynasties of Manetho must have been cotemporaneous, especially the earlier ones.

The evidence *á priori*, of this fact is very strong. Egypt on its first settlement was divided into nomes or provinces. The boundaries of these nomes and the customs and usages of each of them were component parts of the common law of Egypt at all periods of its history. What therefore is more probable, we had almost said more certain, than that in the first place

the founder of each new city would be accounted the king of it, and of the nome or district that surrounded it? This was the case on the settlement of all other countries in the ancient world (*See Genesis; Chaps.* 10, 14, 36, *&c.*), and that Egypt would not depart from this universal rule is the highest of all conceivable probabilities.

II. Many of the kings in Manetho's lists must also have been co-regent.

This fact will abundantly appear when we come to consider their names upon the monuments.

III. The purpose of the Egyptian priesthood in keeping their chronological records in double or triple, will be very apparent to those who are familiar with the modes of thought that prevailed in all ancient heathenisms. The original lists which declared that Egypt had been for more than five thousand years under the rule of mortal men, and for more than thirty thousand years before that had been governed by the gods, was the exoteric or external doctrine for the vulgar, or in other words, for every one who chose, or could be made to believe it. The canonical numbers on the other hand were the esoteric or inner doctrine, taught secretly in the cloisters of the temples to those whose proficiency in such inquiries enabled them to discover that the vulgar figures were impossibilities.

IV. A grave consideration is suggested by this view of the question. The canonical numbers themselves have been handed down to us upon precisely the same authority as that of the lists. Is it not therefore highly probable that the same lying spirit of exaggeration would

be at work in the construction of them also, and that they are consequently just as little entitled to our confidence as exact history, as the actual summation of the lists they profess to explain? We shall presently have the opportunity of fully discussing this most interesting and vital question, when we have no fear whatever of establishing this high probability as an assured certainty.

SECTION B.

THE BIBLE.

We need scarcely remind our readers of the high place which Egypt occupies in the inspired narrative of the early dealings of God with mankind upon the earth. The history of the sons of Abraham, to which its sacred pages are devoted, runs parallel with that of Egypt throughout its entire course, and for one long period the two became confluent and identified. That many allusions to the manners, customs, and other peculiarities of Egypt would be contained in its pages might confidently have been anticipated; and such is assuredly the case. From no other source of knowledge whatever have we such accurate views of the state of things as they actually occurred in Egypt, as in the Bible. Assuming, in compliance with the taste of the day, that the unerring truth of its revelation is an illogical ground of argument, we hope for some opportunities of exhibiting the exact co-incidence of the allusions to

Egyptian customs in the sacred texts, with the existing remains of that country. Much has been done in this most interesting department of research, but far more remains to be accomplished.

Upon the history of Egypt, the question now immediately before us, the notices contained in the Bible are of that brief and abstract character which might have been looked for in a grave composition addressed to persons familiar with the history of Egypt, and written with the sole design of recording the history of Abraham and his posterity. It was no part of the purpose of revelation to perpetuate the names or the exploits of the kings of Egypt; and therefore except by the title of Pharaoh, which was common to all, the name of no one of them is mentioned anywhere in the earlier portions of the inspired volume. The same rule has been observed, and most strictly, in regard of events in the history of Egypt. No single occurrence is mentioned or alluded to, save such as are essential to the understanding of the history of the Jews. The sacred historians are not at all careful that the knowledge of their readers in after times, of the history of Egypt, should be squared up so as to put them in possession of the occurrences whereby the history of the children of Israel came so frequently into contact or collision with that of Egypt. In a word, the Bible was written for one purpose only, and save in a very subordinate sense, it will serve no other. The laws of God's ordinary dealings with man were not departed from for the mere purpose of teaching men ancient history and chronology. When our deductions in either of these fields of research are true,

they will comport exactly with the facts revealed in the Bible. Let them depart, however widely, or however subtilly, from that which is fact, the Bible remains true, notwithstanding.

SECTION C.

THE MONUMENTS.

To give the reader a conception, however faint, of the numbers, magnitude, and beauty of the monuments of Egypt, will be one important end of the inquiry that is before us. The descriptions of each particular monument will be best understood when we come to read the hieroglyphics which are inscribed upon them. Reserving until then the record of our own impressions, we give here from the pages of Richard Lepsius an epitomized view of the number of them, and of the facilities enjoyed by the ancient Egyptians for constructing them, which is valuable not only on account of its intrinsic interest, but because it is the recorded opinion of a man who, of all the men of modern times, has had the best opportunity of forming a judgment upon it.

"We set out then from hence, that the beginning of the true history and chronology of no ancient nation can, to meet the requirements of this day, extend much further backwards than the date of its oldest contemporary source of knowledge; and we have found this opinion confirmed to the discredit of

the early histories of the inhabitants of Europe and Asia. Therein lies the great advantage possessed by the early history of Egypt over all other histories, inasmuch as we can draw our knowledge of it from co-temporary sources of so early a date, and they, not literary histories merely, but also coeval monuments, the most correct and indubitable of all teachers of history. Therefore it is that the history of Egypt at so very early an era may be constructed.

"If we consider in reference to this, the circumstances of the locality and climate of Egypt, we shall find that they are all but miraculously favourable to the endurance of monuments of all kinds, far more so than those of any other country on the surface of the earth.

"In the higher and more northern parts of Asia a moist climate prevails everywhere. Even in the most favourable districts an annual rainy season covers the entire surface with fruitful mould and growing vegetation; while the perfectly naked and rainless stony deserts have never been cultivated. In consequence, all monuments of art, even the most enduring, have long ago been overwhelmed and perished (even from the spots where we hoped to find them in the greatest numbers), before the destructive operations of nature and of man. The fertility of Egypt, on the other hand, is in no degree dependent upon rain. This, however, scarcely applies either to the moist and often rain-charged atmosphere of the coast, or to the swampy flats of the Delta, of whose many once-flourishing and populous cities, scarcely anything noticeable

remains. Of Memphis and Heliopolis in Lower Egypt also, shapeless mounds of ruins are their only memorials; and the granite obelisks of Alexandria are so corroded by the weather as to be in part illegible.

"In Upper Egypt, where it scarcely ever rains, the state of things is totally different, and especially with those monuments that are situated on the borders of the desert, out of the reach of the annual overflow. This is invariably the case with the tombs, those rich treasures of all our knowledge concerning the domestic and social life of Ancient Egypt, which, in this country alone, really served as asyla from destruction and corruption. Throughout its entire length, the narrow strip of land which is annually overflowed, borders upon the waste wilderness of sand and stones. The cities and temples were for the most part built on the boundary between the two; partly in order to interfere as little as possible with the cultivatable surface, and partly, that the buildings might have a drier and firmer foundation. It is on this account that the numerous temples and palaces of Upper Egypt are in such wonderful preservation, wherever the hand of man has allowed them to remain undestroyed. Even that apparently most perishable of all building materials, brick of black Nile mud dried in the sun, has retained for thousands of years its architectural junctures, and the cement with which it is united. Around the celebrated temple of RAMSES the Great, at Thebes, 'the Memnonium,' stands a suite of great vaulted halls, altogether built with this material, and partly coated with stucco. These were built at the same time with

the temple itself, at the commencement of the thirteenth century before Christ. This fact not only appears from the architecture, but also still more demonstrably from the bricks themselves, which, as being made for the king's service, are stamped with his name.* At that time, and earlier, it was a very common practice to coat the tombs excavated in the rock with Nile mud, and to lay upon that the white ground of stucco for the paintings. This was especially the case when the rock was brittle and required a vaulted roof. The same custom prevailed even up to the most ancient times of the pyramids of Memphis. But not only the materials, but also the colours which were laid upon them, retain to this day all their freshness, without any perceptible change, in closed vaults, and, in certain cases, even when exposed to the open air.

"Still more wonderful is the peculiar incorruptibility of vegetable and even animal matter in Egypt. Our museums are full of such remains. In the most ancient tombs of Memphis are found a multitude of objects wrought in wood, such as mummy-cases, chests and boxes of all sizes, seats, instruments of music, little ships, as well as grains of corn, and dried fruit of the doum palm,† nuts, almonds, beans, raisins, even

* A collection of eighty such bricks, all stamped with the names of different monarchs, form part of the treasures brought to Berlin from the valley of the Nile by Lepsius. (Denkmäler, p. 26.)

† A hard kernel, the size of a hen's egg, coated with a substance having exactly the appearance, consistency, and taste of common gingerbread.

cakes of bread and other prepared viands; likewise, wicker baskets, mats, papyrus, and especially linen in incredible quantities. The mummies, also, of men and animals, and the viscera of the former embalmed and deposited in jars, are too common in our collections to require that we should do more than allude to them.

"Moreover, Egypt enjoyed an especial advantage over other countries, in the possession of great abundance of excellent *materials for monuments of all descriptions.* The principal of these materials is stone of the choicest quality, adapted alike for masonry and for the finest sculpture. From the Delta to beyond Thebes, the mountains that hem in the valley of the Nile consist of limestone. In the neighbourhood of Ancient Memphis, on the Lybian side, where the pyramids stand, it was nummulite, better adapted for excavation and blocks for masonry than for sculpture. But on the Arab side, immediately opposite, is a limestone of the finest grain and of an even density, which makes it almost equal to marble. It is adapted for all kinds of work; and amongst the rest, on account of the high polish it takes, for the external coating of the two great pyramids,* the inner parts being blocks of the nummulite on which they stand.

"The Theban mountain, 'on the side of the Lybian desert,' is all but entirely of so excellent a quality 'of stone,' that galleries and tombs hewn in the living

* We greatly doubt this. We shall hereafter state our own opinion as to the external coverings of the pyramids.

rock in various directions are covered on all sides on the polished surface of the rock itself with the richest sculptures, in the most delicate relief.

"Beyond Thebes, from Gebel-silsili to Assouan, is the red sand-stone, which afforded, from the immense quarries of Silsileh, an excellent fine-grained material, both to the masons and sculptors of the latter days of the Egyptian monarchy. Finally, the syenite and granite of Assouan are esteemed, even to the present day, as the most beautiful and precious of their kind. They were equally prized by the ancient Egyptians, who made very extensive use of them.

"Neither must we leave unmentioned that this extraordinary abundance of building-stones was doubled in value by the easy transport afforded by the great water-course of the Nile. Hence it came to pass that sand-stone and granite were used almost without distinction in Thebes and Lower Egypt, where nothing but limestone was at hand, and in Upper Egypt, where it was quarried.

"Of not less importance for the history of a people than materials for masonry and sculpture, are those for their book literature. For this purpose Egypt possessed in the papyrus reed, a natural production of inestimable value, whence she knew how to prepare a writing material unequalled by that of any other ancient nation. Neither the skins of the Greeks, nor the linen of the ancient Romans, nor the cotton and palm leaves of the Brahmins, nor even the Mysian parchment, are at all to be compared, either in softness and pleasantness for the writer, or in cheapness and durability, with

the papyrus of Egypt. It was for these reasons that its ancient use continually extended itself even until far into the Middle Ages. The paper of our own times has retained the name, because it was originally a direct imitation of the papyrus. In ancient times the papyrus was at home in the swamps of the Delta. According to Pliny, Syracuse in Sicily was the only other place in which it was known to be indigenous. In this latter locality it is still very abundant. It has been extirpated from the Delta, to make room for other plants of more immediate utility.

"The use of the papyrus in Egypt dates from the remotest periods of her history. The writing implements of the scribes, 'and the folded and bound papyrus roll,' are depicted upon the tombs of the 4th and 5th dynasties.

"An intense desire after posthumous fame, and a place in history, seems to have been universal in Ancient Egypt. This exhibits itself in the incredible multitude of monuments, of all descriptions, which have been found in the valley of the Nile. All the principal cities of Egypt were adorned with temples and palaces. Towns of lesser note, and even villages, were always distinguished by one temple, at least,—often with more than one. These temples were filled with statues of gods and kings, generally colossal, and hewn from costly stones. Their walls also, within and without, were covered with coloured reliefs. To adorn and maintain these public buildings was at once the duty and the pride of the kings of Egypt. But even these were rivalled by the more opulent classes of the people in

their care for the dead, and in the hewing and decoration of sepulchral chambers. In these things the Egyptians very far surpassed the Greeks and Romans, as well as all other known nations of antiquity.

"Next to the abundance and beauty of these works of art, is the extreme care for their permanence which was exhibited by the Egyptians, and which was evidently in accordance with their religious belief. It is scarcely needful to refer, in proof of this, to the two great pyramids of Ghizeh, which are, in fact, artificial mountains, constructed with huge blocks hewn from the rock on which they stand, and in which sepulchral chambers were afterwards excavated with the chisel, as though they had been natural crags. It is as if the builders of them had designed to erect two pillars to support the vast superstructure of the history of mankind. This is, in a word, the peculiarity of all that remains of the works of the ancient Egyptians. Whether they built halls for pomps and festivities, or dug out sepulchral chambers, whether they constructed for life or for death, it was always with the intention that their works should last for ever.

"Still further to enhance the value to after times of these ever-during monuments of Ancient Egypt, it was universal with them to cover their works of art, of every description, with hieroglyphics; the purport of which related strictly to the monuments on which they were described. No nation that ever lived on the earth has made so much use of its written system, or applied it to a purpose so strictly historical, as Ancient

Egypt. There was not a wall, a platform, a pillar, an architrave, a frieze, or even a door-post, in an Egyptian temple which was not covered within, without, and on every available surface, with pictures in relief, and with hieroglyphic texts explaining those reliefs. There is not one of these reliefs that is not history: some of them actually representing the conquests of foreign nations; others, the offerings and devotional exercises of the monarch by whom the temple or the portion of the temple on which the relief stood, had been constructed. Widely different from the temples of Greece and Rome, on which inscriptions were evidently regarded as unwelcome additions, forming no part of the original architectural design, but, on the other hand, interfering with, and marring it, the hieroglyphic writings were absolutely essential and indispensable to the decoration of a perfect Egyptian temple.

"This writing, moreover, was by no means confined to constructions of a public nature, and of great magnitude, such as temples or tombs, but was also inscribed on objects of art of every other conceivable description. Nothing, even down to the palette of a scribe, the style with which a lady painted her eyelashes with powdered antimony, or even a walking-stick, was deemed too insignificant to be inscribed with the name of the owner, and a votive dedication of the object itself, to his patron divinity. Inscriptions, with the names of the artists, or owners, so rare on the remains of Greece and Rome, are the universal rule in Egyptian art. There was no colossus too great, and no amulet too small, to be

inscribed with the name of its owner, and some account of the occasion on which it was executed." (*Einleitung*, pp. 29 to 38.)

The vast mass of the inscribed remains of Ancient Egypt, so well set forth by Lepsius in this passage, (whose import we have adopted without always translating his words,) constitutes the only source of knowledge, whence its history can possibly be derived. The narratives of the Bible, and the Greek authors, had been subjected to the minutest critical investigation, the deepest study, and the closest collation, that the learning of Europe could bestow upon them for more than three hundred years, without a single satisfactory, or really available, result. The learned labours in Egyptian antiquity of the scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were really productive of nothing, beyond the clear demonstration of the utter hopelessness of the task they had undertaken, and the inadequacy of the materials with which they had to work to accomplish the harmonizing of the accounts of Ancient Egypt contained in the Inspired Volume, with the notices of that country to be gathered from the Greek historians, at which they were aiming. It is, we repeat it, to the inscribed monuments of Ancient Egypt, and to them alone, that we must look for the historical facts and the chronological arrangements, by the aid of which the fragments embodied in the other two sources of our knowledge can be joined together so as to form a consistent history.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TEMPLE LISTS.—GODS AND DEMI-GODS.—MYTHIC DYNASTIES.—RANK OF THE GODS.—THOTH.—CRIES OF ANIMALS.—SPARROW; IBIS; BEETLE.—HABITS OF ROLLING BEETLE.—SAMUEL BIRCH.—ROSSI AND SCHARWARTZ.—POTTERY AND METALLURGY.—ART OF ROPE-MAKING.—ARTISTIC SKILL IN ANCIENT REMAINS.—FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN EGYPT.—RICHARD LEPSIUS.—EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION.—PYRAMIDS OF LOWER EGYPT.—THEBES; THE MAGNITUDE AND BEAUTY OF HER MONUMENTS.—TEMPLES OF PTOLEMIES, ETC.—DIODORUS SICULUS.—HELIOPOLIS.—PYRAMIDS OF GHIZEH.—CEMETERIES OF GHIZEH AND ABOUSIR.—SAMBOLIC REPRESENTATIVES IN HIEROGLYPHIC WRITINGS.—NOTICES IN THE GREEK AUTHORS.—NATURAL HISTORY.—LANGUAGE OF ANCIENT EGYPT; PRIMITIVE MODE OF WRITING IT.—PROBABLE CHARACTER OF THE FIRST SETTLERS IN EGYPT.—THE BIBLE THE HIGHEST OF ALL AUTHORITIES.

In inquiries of the complex, but very important and needful, nature of that upon which we are now about to enter, a great difficulty arises from the many fables intermixed with the facts we have to investigate, which have been thrown in by men of subsequent generations, for ends and motives so various, that they agree in nothing save in the utter disregard of truth which is common to all of them. The temple lists

themselves professing to be cotemporaneous records of the facts they contain, present us, nevertheless, at their very outset, with one of the strongest grounds of preliminary distrust that can in the nature of things be imagined. They begin with an admitted fable. They inform their readers, that when the sovereignty of Egypt passed into the hands of the first mortal man that ever reigned there, the valley of the Nile had been for nearly 18,000 years a kingdom under the government of gods, demi-gods, heroes and other mythic beings. This portion of their record, it must be borne in mind, is presented to us upon exactly the same authority as any other part of it: we have no more right to question it, than the portions by which it is followed. Therefore, by a parity of reasoning, if the right not only to question it but to reject it as an utter fable be conceded to us (and we imagine such a concession will not be disputed), then have we established a most just ground for doubt and hesitation, for close analysis and extensive inquiry, before we accept as facts of history any other statements, whatever, that are made to us on the same authority.

There is, nevertheless, a consideration which it is very important to regard in this our rejection of the mythic and fabulous portion of the history of Egypt. It is not often that fables like these are pure romance, or sheer invention. In the very ancient times in which the fables before us were constructed, we are disposed to believe that such inventions would have been impossible. It becomes, therefore, important to examine these fables, for the purpose of eliminating from them

the few particles of truth which may have served for their groundwork. We give, from the profound and erudite pages of Lepsius, the copy of this portion of the temple records, which, with abundant learning and research, he has collected and rectified from the many repetitions of it by the Greek chronological writers.

DYNASTY I.

GODS.

				years.
1		Hephaistos	reigned	9000
2		Helios, (the sun) ...	„	1000
3		Agathodaimon	„	700
4		Kronos	„	500
5		Osiris	„	450
6		Typhon	„	350

DYNASTY II.

DEMI-GODS.

				years.
1		Horus	reigned	300
2		„	„	280
3		„	„	200
4		„	„	180
5		„	„	100
6		„	„	120
7		„	„	100
8		„	„	120
9		„	„	100
10		„	„	100
11		„	„	100
12		„	„	100
13		Bitus	„	70
				13870

DYNASTY III.

			years.
	Other demi-gods ...	reigned	3650
			17520

Kritik der Quellen, p. 484.

The most remarkable circumstance in this list of deities to any one at all conversant with the Egyptian mythology as it is amply expounded in the hieroglyphic texts, is, that the sun comes the second in the list, and that it is headed by Hephaistos, or Phtha, as we have found the name written in the Rosetta inscription. This divinity in all mythic texts is one of the children of the sun, of a rank very subordinate to that of his father, and scarcely appearing in any other character than that of the local divinity of Memphis; exercising, however, a certain tutelary power over the rest of Lower Egypt, because Memphis was the capital of this division of the Monarchy. We at once assume (without going into a profound discussion, the materials for which we have not yet laid before the reader), that here is a clear indication that the fable was invented in Lower Egypt. Had Manetho consulted the temple records of Thebes, doubtless he would have found it written there, that the first divine king of Egypt was Amoun.

Helios, or the sun, who stands second in our list, was the central unit in which all the gods of the Egyptian mythology met and became one. The clumsy devices by which the truth of the divine unity was concealed in this vast tissue of fable, will demand our attention in the course of the inquiry that is before us.

The name Agathodaimon, or the good spirit, is one of the titles of Phtha, probably a second incarnation of him in his true character of son of the sun.

Reserving for future occasions our remarks upon the

rest of the god-kings of Egypt, (many of whom we hope to identify with the Patriarchs of the Bible,) we merely observe in this place, as a general remark, that Champollion and other early writers upon our subject, have erred in assuming that the Egyptian mythology was a system which from the first was perfect in itself, and had never undergone any change from that time, until its final extinction by Christianity. Upon this point also we shall have remarks to offer on more occasions than one.

There is a tradition preserved by the gossiping author, Plutarch, in his strange and rambling book upon Egyptian mythology,* that when Thoth, who, he tells us, was the god of letters and intelligence, first appeared upon the earth, the inhabitants of Egypt had no language, but only uttered the cries of animals. This god, he also explains, had an ibis for his sacred animal, and was represented with the head of that bird. That Thoth was one of the divine beings worshipped in Egypt at a very remote period, we have the incontestible evidence of cotemporary monuments. He is depicted on a relief which still exists



* De Iside et Osiride.

in the Wady Meghara, in the Sinaitic peninsular, standing by PHAROAH SEN-SUPHIS, one of the builders of the great pyramid, and recording his triumphs over his enemies, whose country the monarch is invading. It is also true that the language of ancient Egypt did, to a far greater extent than any other known language, make the common appellatives of living creatures, close imitations of the cries they uttered. We cite the following as instances:—

ⲉⲱ *eō*—an ass.

ⲥϩⲉ *che*—a cow.

ϩⲧⲟⲣ *htor*—a horse.

ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ *uhor*—a dog.

ⲫⲓⲛ *phin*—a mouse.

ⲡⲓⲣ *rir*—a pig.

ⲉϣⲁⲩ *eshau*—a pig.

ⲃⲉⲛⲛⲓ *benni*, or, in hieroglyphics, *meni*—a swallow.

ϫⲁϫ *djadj*—a sparrow.

ⲙⲟⲩⲉ *moue*—a lion.

ϩⲓⲡⲡⲉⲡ *hippep*—an ibis. The cry of the black and white ibis consists of the syllables *ep-ep*.

mrrt—the argelah, adjutant crane. This bird utters a cry resembling the word *marrarat*, when it takes wing. It is so named in hieroglyphics in one of the tombs at Beni-hassan. The word has not been read in the Coptic texts, but has been preserved by the Arabs, who call this bird *Marabout*. It is by no means uncommon in the salt marshes around Alexandria.

It would be easy to multiply instances, so as to show that this has been the rule whereon the names of animals had originally been constructed.

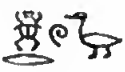
There is also evidence that other words in the Egyptian language which signify actions or qualities, coinciding with certain peculiarities of appearance or habit in living creatures, have been expressed by words taken from their names. For example, the hieroglyphic name of the cameleopard was *srou*. The verb, ⲥⲱⲣ, *sōr*, means, "to stretch," "to extend in length," in both transcriptions of the language. In the same way the word, ϫⲁϫ, means "destruction," and "enemy," as well as "a sparrow," in the Coptic texts. In the hieroglyphics the sparrow is the determinative of kind of all words denoting "evil," and "misfortune," as well as "littleness." The reason of this is very apparent in Egypt, even at the present day. The numbers, the boldness, and the voracity of these little pests, far surpass that which I have seen of them in any other country. In ancient times, when the means of destroying them were but very limited, the sparrows of Egypt would, doubtless, abundantly entitle themselves to the unenviable distinction they have acquired.

The ibis was, from the very earliest period of which we have any record, accounted a symbol of speech, and of reason, whereof speech is the natural vehicle. In what strange freak of fancy, or foolish misapprehension of the natural habits of this beautiful bird, the association originated, it is scarcely possible to say. The relief which we have already laid before our readers is sufficient evidence of the extreme antiquity of this notion. The Coptic words, ϩⲁⲡ, *hap*, "judgment," and ϩⲱⲡ, *hōp*, "to hide," "to conceal," (all wisdom in early times

being occult,) are palpably derived from the name of the ibis.

The well-known beetle of the Nile, and of most other southern Mediterranean countries, has a remarkable instinct for the preservation of its eggs, which was very early noted by the first settlers in the valley of the Nile. The female deposits her egg on the soft wet mud of the Nile just as the annual overflow begins to subside. She then, by working diligently with the plate on her head, and her fore-legs, heaps the adjacent mud upon the egg in the form of a hemisphere. Afterwards, with the same apparatus, she works downward beneath the egg, so as completely to detach the mud on which her work stands. Then, by the same implements, and with matchless skill, she completes the sphere, the dimensions of which she has evidently been taught by the same instinct exactly to calculate. The claws of her two long hinder legs are next plunged into the mud of which the sphere is composed at exactly opposite points, so to form the two poles of an axis of the sphere. Then, supported on the front pair of legs, she presses with the two middle legs obliquely against the sphere, so as to give it a rotatory motion; and, walking backwards, rolls away from the river the ball which is the nidus of her future offspring, until she reaches the adjacent sand of the desert, wherein, by burrowing underneath it, she and the object of her solicitude are in an incredibly short time buried to the depth of two feet, or more. It is a curious sight



just as the Nile subsides to see hundreds of these creatures together, rolling their balls of mud all in the same direction. The hieroglyphic name of this insect was, , *chrb*, or *krb*,* the goose being the determinative in kind of all winged creatures. With this signification the word is not read in the Coptic texts, but it is preserved exactly in the Greek appellative for the insect, καραβος;† in Latin, *scarabæus*. Its plastic powers have also supplied the framers of the ancient Egyptian language with a very extensive range of symbolical uses. The words, **χερεϐ**, "a form," or "image," and **κορϐι**, "a graving tool," are obvious derivatives from it, still to be found in the Coptic texts. But in its primary symbolic signification, the word derived from the name of the scarabæus was much too closely associated with the old idolatry to admit of its use in translating the Bible, or expounding Christian doctrine. In the hieroglyphic texts it is the common appellative of all that long series of transformations both of nature and external figure, which, according to the Egyptian mythology, was to be undergone by the righteous in the life after death; the mummification of the body being the first of these transformations. The operations of the embalmer, the divinities that preside over the process, and the mortals that perform it, have all equally appellatives in the hieroglyphic texts, of which the initial

* See Alphabet, No. 135.

† This word is an attempt to express by vocal articulations the loud whirring sound produced by the clytræ of this beetle striking together when it is on the wing.

phonetic is the beetle, having also its symbolic allusion. It is to Samuel Birch that we are indebted for the deeply-important discovery that the phonetic power of the beetle was *k*.

, *hm*, the consonants of the Coptic word, ϩⲙⲟ, "a pelican," which is as close an imitation as articulate sounds could produce of the loud, plaintive cry of this huge, majestic, but far from graceful, waterfowl; vast flights of which frequent the sand-banks and shoals of the Nile throughout Lower Egypt to this day. As an appellative of the bird itself, it is not used in the hieroglyphic texts, but in a figurative sense, which, strangely enough, has in its turn disappeared from the Coptic texts. The destructive powers of this most voracious of fish-eaters have given to the common appellative of the pelican a symbolic use, whereby it denotes the pursuit of fish, the catching of fish, (whether by net or line,) and every other operation of the piscatory art.

, *tshr;* in Coptic, ⲧϫⲣ, "red." This adjective is determined in the hieroglyphic texts by two or three different birds, in various transcriptions of it, all with red or reddish plumage. The rose-coloured flamingo, a not uncommon bird in Egypt, is one of them; and there can hardly be a doubt that the word itself is an imitation of the hoarse, raucous cry of this wild, shy, and, in appearance and habit, most extraordinary bird.

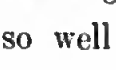
The use of the young onion as the symbol of "white," "whiteness," we have already explained.

That this plant was originally found in Egypt, and that this country was famed for it in early times, we need scarcely explain. (*See Numb.* xi. 25.)

There are, in both transcriptions of this ancient language, abundant materials whence it could be shown, that the greater part of the words that compose it have been constructed upon this principle; and, therefore, by a clear inevitable consequence, that the language must have been the invention of the first settlers after their arrival in Egypt, for there is not a single allusion of this kind that is not strictly local and Egyptian. The fable, therefore, preserved by Plutarch, has some foundation in fact. One important element, out of which the language of Ancient Egypt has been constructed was certainly the cries of animals.

There is yet another historic trait whereby this most ancient of languages, and of modes of writing, discourses of its origin. A large class of words in it are semitic, or (to drop the terminology of a system, which modern discovery has shown to be erroneous) are identical with the Hebrew of the Bible. The personal pronoun, the numerals, as well as many nouns and verbs, expressing actions or objects of very common occurrence, were the same in the Hebrew and Egyptian languages. Anxious to avoid encumbering the text of the present work with minute philological details, which would interest but few of our readers, we forbear going at length into this part of the subject. Those who may be inclined to pursue it, are referred to the works of Rossi and Schwartz. We give, very briefly, the opinion which we have

formed, after a long-continued investigation of this difficult question. The words of the ancient Egyptian language, derived from the Hebrew, seem to be those which are of the very essence of human intercommunication. Such are pronouns, numerals, appellatives for heat, cold, sitting, standing, moving, dividing, &c. &c. We believe there exists, either in the Coptic or hieroglyphic texts, words identical with the Hebrew for these and other objects and ideas; all of which, so far as we can collect, are of this primitive and essential character in the structure of speech. Without them it would be impossible for human beings to interchange thoughts, or hold communication by speech at all. We entreat our readers to bear in mind this important fact.

The mode of writing in hieroglyphics, the Egyptian pronouns is also well worthy of note. , *ank*, Coptic, ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, Hebrew, אנכי, "I," "myself." It will be perceived, that the second character of the hieroglyphic transcription is a small earthen vase, and the third (*k*,) a bowl, or bason made of bronze, with a ring for suspending it on a nail or peg. The group before us, will be found invariably to represent the pronoun of the first person in texts of all good epochs, up to the very remotest of which any remains have been recovered. It is very clear that the inventor of the entire system must also have been the author of this group, which is so essential to all language. It will follow, therefore, that the arts of pottery and metallurgy must have been known and practised in his time. The pronoun of the second person in like manner includes

the last of these characters in its transcription.  *ntk*, Coptic, ⲛⲧⲕ, and in its abbreviated form,  *k*, Hebrew ך, which in both languages is the pronominal affix, "thy," "thine," as well as the inflexion of the verb for the second person singular. It is, therefore, a particle as essential and elementary to the construction of language as any one that could have been selected. The feminine pronomial affix, "thy," addressed to a woman, is a cord with two loops,  *t*, in texts of all ages. The art of rope-making must inevitably have been understood when this character was invented.

To trace out these indications to other groups, representing ideas elementary to all language, and to infer from the various objects depicted by the characters which compose them, that the inventors of the hieroglyphic system must have been civilized men, among whom all the ordinary adjuncts of civilization were in common use, would be a pleasant and profitable inquiry, but one scarcely falling within the range of history. We have, at present, merely to do with the result, and to give some general indications of the facts whence it may be worked out.

We also give in this place, another circumstance pointing to the same result. The perfection of Egyptian art is to be found in the monuments which are of the remotest date. The most ancient remains with which we are acquainted, are those in which the largest amount of artistic and handicraft skill has been displayed. There are tombs, the decorations of which are

so far beyond the range of modern art, that all copies of them which I have seen, give but the same faint hint at the original as one of the ordinary modern re-productions of the Venus de Medicis, or, the Belvidere Apollo. Those tombs are all of the very remotest antiquity. The deterioration from them is exactly graduated as we descend the stream of Egyptian history. With occasional and very partial exceptions, the oldest monument is the best executed, and the most recent the worst, whether we commence our researhes from the source or the termination of this long river, or from any point intermediate.

There is yet another indication of the first settlement of the valley of the Nile, which still remains to us, through the eternizing agencies of the dry hot blasts of the desert that sweep incessantly over it. I had myself been long convinced of the fact which is now unanswerably demonstrated, and more than ten years ago published my conviction of it, that the first settlements in Egypt were formed at the crown of the Delta. In forming this conclusion, my only guides were the few copies of inscriptions then published, the localities of which were known, and conversation with travellers who had been in Egypt. My own impressions while exploring this country since then, have entirely confirmed the notion I had formed upon these imperfect data. But I prefer citing here the highest living authority for this and all similar questions. Richard Lepsius, at any rate, carried with him to Egypt no preconceived opinions upon this point; assuredly none that he could have derived from any publication of

mine. He, therefore, is another, and perfectly independent witness to the same fact. I also gladly avail myself of the sanction of his authority, for a point so important to history.

"It is a remarkable circumstance," says Lepsius, "that the antiquity of Egyptian monuments, considered in relation to the larger masses of their remains, becomes less remote the higher we ascend the valley, in direct opposition to that which might have been anticipated according to the very generally received theory, which assumes that the Egyptian civilization in the valley of the Nile originated in the south, and extended itself northward. While the pyramids of Lower Egypt, with the tombs that surround them, brought to our view the wonderfully ample details of the most ancient civilization of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th dynasties, we found the 6th dynasty, and the full bloom of the 12th, the last of the Old Kingdom, principally represented in Middle Egypt. Thebes was the glorious metropolis of the first dynasties of the New Kingdom, surpassing all that had gone before, and all that followed, in the number, the magnitude, and the beauty of her monuments, and presenting even yet a reflection, however faint, of Egypt in the palmy days of her highest prosperity. Egyptian art, accomplishing great works even in its decline, has left behind it a range of stately temples in Dendera, Erment, Esneh, Edfu, Kûm-Ombo, Debôd, Kalabscheh, Dendûr, and Dakkeh, all executed by Ptolemies and Roman Emperors, and all, with the single exception of Dendera, occurring in the southern portion of the Thebaid, or in Lower Nubia. The

Egyptian monuments, which are situated the furthest of all to the south, in the valley of the Nile, namely, those on the island of Meroë, are likewise the most recent of all, and were for the most part begun after the commencement of the Christian era." (*Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, *p.* 8.)

It will be a work comparatively easy to fill up the slight but able sketch which we have borrowed from this accomplished scholar. The most ancient city of Heliopolis stands near the crown of the Delta, on the eastern bank of the Nile. In the palmy days of Greece it was the great resort of those of that enquiring and restless people, who, like Plato, were curious to search into the wisdom and learning of Egypt. In the times of Diodorus Siculus, 400 years afterwards, it appears by his account to have been nearly deserted. In the pages of later authors, Heliopolis is mentioned as the quarry whence Augustus and his successors, for more than 300 years, brought away the obelisks, the colossi, and other monuments of Ancient Egypt, wherewith to decorate the circuses of Rome and Constantinople. It is spoken of by the Roman authors generally as the most ancient city of Egypt. In the circumstance that Heliopolis is the only city in Egypt the name of which is mentioned in the book of Genesis (On, *Genesis*, chap. xli. 45), we have a remarkable confirmation of the truth of this traditive account of its high antiquity. Heliopolis, as its name imports, was celebrated for a large temple dedicated to the sun, and for the worship of that luminary. (Herod. ii. 59; Diod. i. 85.) We know, from the inscription on the monuments of Heliopolis, that

the peculiar form under which the sun was deified in the temple of that city was *Athom*, "the setting sun."

Immediately opposite to the site of Heliopolis, on the western bank of the Nile, are the great pyramids of Ghizeh. The rocky platform on which they stand is the northern extremity of the range of low limestone hills, which extend southward thence for more than seventy miles to Howara in the Faium. Throughout this entire distance the rock is crowned with pyramids and perforated with tombs. It has visibly served as the burial place of a populous nation for many ages. It is in the innumerable tombs of this platform that we find the most ancient remains that have been preserved in any part of Egypt. In wonderful accordance with the indication of Lepsius, the cemeteries of Ghizeh and Abousir, which are the two northernmost groups of tombs in the entire range, belong to epochs more remote than those of the cemeteries to the southward. It is here, therefore, that the most ancient of all the monuments of Egypt have been preserved. It has been already explained that to the southward all are of a more recent date. If we proceed from Ghizeh northward, and traverse the entire Delta, no single monument has yet been found in any locality there of an earlier date than the 18th dynasty, with which, according to the arrangement we propose to follow, the New Kingdom of Egypt commences. Thus then we are able to indicate with absolute certainty the point in the valley of the Nile in which are found the monuments of the remotest antiquity, and, therefore, by the unerring analogy of the customs of all ancient nations, the spot

in which the first settlement in Egypt took place. Everything both to the northward and southward of this point is more modern. It will also be seen, by a reference to the map, that this point lies exactly parallel to the Isthmus of Suez, and is precisely the place at which immigrants over that thoroughfare between Asia and Africa would first find a locality suited to their purpose after traversing the sands of the desert, and attempting in vain to penetrate the swamps of the Delta.

The symbolic uses of representations of visible objects in the hieroglyphic writings may be studied with great advantage, in order to collect from them those prehistoric indications of the first settlement of Egypt of which we are now in search. Upon this part of our subject we have happily very ample notices in the Greek authors. The inquiry fell in so exactly with that love of the marvellous for which the Greeks were remarkable, that they dwell upon it at great length. We confine our present remarks to those uses which relate to natural history, and which we know to be genuine, and not Greek inventions, because we find the objects in question occurring with the senses they assign to them in the hieroglyphic texts.

The vulture, , is constantly used in the hieroglyphic texts to symbolize the ideas of "mother" and "maternity." The reasons for this use were drawn altogether from supposed facts in the natural history of the bird; of which the Greek authors have given us many details. The vulture was supposed to have such

extreme affection for its young, that it pierced its breast with its own bill for the purpose of feeding them with its blood.* This fable, at a much later period, was detected as a mistake; and the pelican took the place of the vulture as the emblem of maternal affection. The strong, sharp hook, which terminates the upper mandible of the bill of the former bird, gave the degree of countenance to the story which was required by the enlarged sphere of knowledge of the later period. From another Greek author, we have other reasons why the vulture symbolizes "maternity," drawn also from its natural history. Plutarch informs us, that there is no male vulture: that this bird conceives by flying, for one hundred and twenty days together, against the Etesian wind; that she passes another one hundred and twenty days in building her nest in the palm trees of Lower Egypt, and incubation; and that the rearing of her young, and her return with them to Upper Egypt, occupy one hundred and twenty days more.†

For all these fabulous properties there is that amount of foundation in fact which we might have anticipated. The large vulture of Egypt is a bird of prey, as well as a carrion feeder, like the rest of its congeners. I have repeatedly observed, that it feeds its young with pigeons, hares, and other small creatures, that it takes alive. In consequence, the beak, and the plumage on the breast, are often stained with blood during the season of incubation. There cannot be a doubt that the fable related by Horapollo originated in this circum-

* Horapollinis Hier. lib. i., h. 11. † De Iside et Osiride.

stance. The male and female, moreover, of this bird very closely resemble each other, more so than in most other birds.

Like all the rest of the feathered creation, the vulture accompanies the inundation of the Nile, in its gradual progress through Upper and Lower Egypt, in the months of June, July, and August. It is just at this time that the Etesian wind blows the strongest; and the vultures may be seen contending against its furious blasts in flights of five or six together. They make their nests to this day, in the date palms of Middle and Lower Egypt, in the months of August and September, taking their flight again to Upper Egypt before the chilling blasts of December and January. There is not, therefore, a single particular in the fable related by Plutarch which had not a foundation in fact. It is quite evident, therefore, that the inventor was perfectly sincere in his belief of the fable he related. We submit, also, it is equally evident that such an account could never have passed for true with a nation who had long been the inhabitants of a country where the vulture was indigenous; but must have been made an article of religion before the generality of men had had the opportunity of testing its veracity by their own observations upon the habits of the bird.

If we examine any of the other fables, in which the symbols of the hieroglyphic system have been founded, we shall find that they all require for their explanation the same assumptions. They are the mistakes into which the first visitors of an unknown country might easily fall, and constantly have fallen at all times,

regarding the natural productions of any terra incognita. The phenomena they witnessed are truly described: but the narrators have erred in carrying out certain peculiarities they have noticed, probably merely accidental, into general habits; and in assigning effects to wrong causes. It is scarcely fifty years since the Bohn Upas tree, of Java, and the tree with a cloud constantly over it, from whose every leaf trickled the dew that supplied the inhabitants of one of the Western Isles with water, were regarded as undoubted facts of natural history, and were even admitted into the curriculum of the ordinary education of this country. It is not yet seventy years since the vegetable lamb of Siberia, far from being regarded as a ridiculous fable, was associated with other undoubted facts of botany, "and lapp'd with rosy tongue the melting rime," in the smooth-flowing numbers wherein a naturalist by profession sang "the Loves of the Plants." All these modern mistakes had exactly the origin which we assign to the primitive fictions in which the symbols of the Egyptian writings originated. They were taken from the narratives of the travellers who, in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, visited the remoter parts of Asia, Africa, and America. They recorded truly, not the facts, but their own impressions of what they saw.

We take as another illustration, the palm-tree, which was made, in the Egyptian writings, to symbolize the year, "because," says Horapollo, "the palm puts forth twelve shoots yearly, one every month." This also is true to a certain extent. The palm of every kind is a strictly tropical production, and has not, like the

trees of temperate climates, any provision whatever to meet the variations in temperature, which take place there in the course of the year. It sends forth new leaves, expands flowers, ripens fruits, and sheds its decayed leaves, at the same time, and at all seasons of the year. In a country like Egypt, situated on the southern limit of the temperate zone, and where the trees both of that and of the torrid zone flourish together, these phenomena of the palm-tree are very remarkable to the stranger who visits it the first time from the north. We therefore assign the same origin to the fable of Horapollo, regarding the palm-tree, as to that regarding the vulture. It was the impression made upon a stranger, who, coming from the northward, saw the palms of Egypt for the first time, and whose narrative had passed into the realms of faith and religion before there was time to correct it by observations of longer continuance.

The perfect equality of the feathers in the wing of an ostrich, and in a word, all the other fables on the strength of which organized beings were made into hieroglyphic symbols, admit, we believe, of easy solution upon this assumption. They have all the marks of first impressions hastily recorded.

It remains for us to collect and put in relation to each other, the indications furnished by this part of our inquiry.

We have found that the sun was the great father god and the universal centre of the Egyptian mythology. The city especially dedicated to the worship of this luminary we find to be situated exactly in the

place, where, according to all analogy, immigrants from Asia across the Isthmus, would first meet with a place convenient for settlement. We find also that the cemetery of Ghizeh, immediately opposite this city, and not more than six miles distant from it, is the spot in which alone are found all the memorials of the first age of Egyptian monumental history.

On turning to the language of Ancient Egypt, we find a framework of words and expressions, all absolutely essential to the possibility of human intercommunication by speech, identical with those of the language of the Asiatic countries, which lie adjacent to the Isthmus, on its eastern side. Dialectic corruptions of the same language prevail in these countries to the present day, and that it has always been the language of this part of the world, we have the most unanswerable of all conceivable evidence in the possession of the text of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is with this most ancient form of the language that the Egyptian words in question identify themselves.

There is, moreover, another large portion of the language of Egypt, which we find to be derived from roots constructed of articulations, intended to imitate the cries of living creatures, all peculiar to Egypt, or to the deserts circumjacent. With these roots they associated the peculiarities of form, and habit, of the animals themselves, thereby making them the symbols of other ideas.

On considering the primitive mode of writing the language of Egypt, we discover from the pictures represented by the characters which compose it, that all

the ordinary arts and adjuncts of civilization, must have been in use universally at the time of its invention. Were we to reason from the analogy which modern ethnographical research has established so clearly, that no single exception to it is known, writing is the invariable precursor of civilization; so much so, that without it human improvement is impossible.

On considering the notices regarding natural history on which the symbols employed in the Egyptian written system have been constructed, we find that they are (though founded in truth) widely different from the rude yet accurate outline of the natural habits of the organized beings around him, which becomes impressed upon the mind of the savage. Still more widely do they depart from that lucid and orderly impression which long familiarity with the plants and animals of his country engraves upon the reasoning powers of the civilized man. They are the vivid, exaggerated pictures which flash upon the imagination of the stranger, who, with a mind uninformed as to natural history, but in other respects disciplined and cultivated, gazes for the first time upon the wonderful works of God in a foreign land. We have cited in illustration of this state of mind the narratives, connected with natural history, of European travellers two centuries ago.

The reasonable inference from these facts (to our apprehension, we are free to confess, the only reasonable one) appears to us to be, that the first settlers in Egypt were a company of persons in a high state of civilization, but that through some strange anomaly in the history of man, they had been deprived of great part of the

language, and the entire written system, which had formerly been the means and vehicle of their civilization. We contend that this is the only reasonable or possible inference, even if no account of the first dispersion of mankind had ever reached us.

Combining this inference with the clear unanswerable indications we have already pointed out, that the fathers of Ancient Egypt first journeyed thither across the Isthmus of Suez, and that they brought with them the worship of the setting sun, How is it possible to resist the conclusion that they came thither from the plains of Babel, and that the civilization of Egypt was derived from the banks of the Euphrates?

We do not here discuss the probability of any other theory, because we neither see the necessity for it, nor upon what possible mode of reasoning these facts can be made to support it. Neither do we appeal on the present occasion to the Inspired Volume because the Bible is in want of additional evidence to its veracity from the history of Egypt, but because the history of Egypt needs elucidation from the Bible. This will also be the case in our future appeals to this the highest of all authorities.

CHAPTER V.

THE OLD KINGDOM.

THREEFOLD DIVISION OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY BY ERATOSTHENES.—BUNSEN'S ARGUMENT INCORRECT.—AUTHOR'S VIEW CONFIRMED BY SYNCELLUS.—DYNASTY I.—MENES THE FIRST KING.—FOUNDER OF MEMPHIS.—AUTHOR OF GIGANTIC ENGINEERING OPERATIONS.—KILLED BY A HIPPOPOTAMUS.—REIGN OF MENES A CHRONOLOGICAL EPOCH.—ANCIENT TRADITION A SUBJECT OF MODERN INQUIRY.—DATE OF THE DELUGE.—FALLACY OF EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY AND OF LEPSIUS' THEORY OF THE FLOOD.—FIRST EGYPTIAN DIVINITY IDENTICAL WITH NOAH.—RECAPITULATION.—AUTHOR'S SYSTEM SUPPORTED BY SCRIPTURE.—ATHOTHIS, THE SECOND KING.—PSEMEMPSES, OR PHARAOH.—PRINCE MOURHET.—DYNASTY II.—COTEMPORARY WITH DYNASTY I.—ANIMAL WORSHIP.—ORIGIN OF PICTURE WRITING.—DYNASTY III.—PYRAMIDS OF GHIZEH.—SEPULCHRAL CHAMBERS.—INSCRIPTIONS OF NAMES OF KINGS.—LEGEND OF THE LYBIAN REVOLT.—CONSOLIDATION OF THE MONARCHY.—DYNASTY IV.—ERA OF THE PYRAMIDS.—MAN WORSHIP, THE RELIGION OF PRIMEVAL EGYPT.—SCRIPTURE PATRIARCHS IDENTIFIED WITH EGYPTIAN DEITIES.—ANCIENT COURSE OF THE NILE.—PYRAMID OF ABOUSIR.—REIGN OF SORIS.—PROBABLE DURATION OF FIRST THREE DYNASTIES.—PYRAMID OF SUPHIS.—TERRIBLE OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN BUILDING IT.—CO-REGENCY OF NOH-SUPHIS WITH SUPHIS, IMPORTANT TO THE CHRONOLOGY OF EGYPT.—ITS EFFECTS UPON THE LISTS OF MANETHO.—SUCCESSORS OF SUPHIS.—COMPARISON OF LISTS WITH MONUMENTS.—DYNASTY V.—SAID TO HAVE COME FROM THE ISLAND OF ELEPHANTINE.—THIS SHOWN TO BE ERRONEOUS.—ABYDOS THE TRUE SOURCE.—OUSERCHERES, ITS FIRST KING.—TABLET OF ABYDOS.—SEPHRES BUILDER OF SECOND PYRAMID.—ORIGIN OF CAVO RELIEVO.—PEACE, PROSPERITY, AND PROGRESS.—THIRD PYRAMID.—COTEMPORARY WITH SECOND.—PECULIAR FEATURES OF EGYPTIAN ART.—CLOSE AND PROBABLE DURATION OF PYRAMIDAL ERA.

THE entire history of Egypt has been divided by Bunsen, and the German School into three sections.

We notice it here, and may in some measure conform to it, more on account of its very general reception, and of its convenience for some reasons, than from any strong conviction either of its intrinsic value and importance, or that it ever existed in the temple records of Egypt. They name these sections, 1. THE OLD KINGDOM; 2. THE MIDDLE KINGDOM; 3. THE NEW KINGDOM. The first of these kingdoms extends from the foundation of the monarchy to the overthrow of the native kings by the Phœnician Shepherds. The Middle Kingdom is the history of Egypt under the dominion of the Shepherds. The New Kingdom begins with the expeller of the Shepherds, and ends with the final extinction of the monarchy by ALEXANDER the Great.

The principal authority for this division of the history of Egypt, is the passage from Eratosthenes, to which we have already referred.* It is quoted in the work on scripture chronology of George Syncellus, the learned vice-patriarch of Byzantium, A.D. 800. We acknowledge, as fully as we are able, our obligations to Bunsen for bringing the passage into notice, at the same time that we are compelled to express our entire dissent from the import he assigns to it. From his appendix of authorities we give a literal translation of the text of Syncellus:—

"Apollodorus, the chronographer, transcribed another Egyptian royal succession of 38 kings in 1076 years. These, Erastosthenes says, he took from the archives of Egypt, and translated iuto Greek." Some other particulars, with the names of the kings in Egyptian and Greek, and the duration of their reigns, follow. He

* Chap. iii., p. 182.

concludes the passage thus:—"Here ended the government of the 38 kings who ruled over Egypt, called Thebans, whose names Eratosthenes having received from the sacred scribes in Diospolis [Thebes], translated from Egyptian into Greek." "Of the other 53 Theban kings who succeeded to these, and who are handed down by the same Apollodorus, we consider the enumeration superfluous, as being of no manner of use to us. Neither indeed are those that precede them."*

In commentiug upon this passage, M. Bunsen assumes that the whole of the 91 kings mentioned in it reigned in succession before the times of Moses, of which epoch Syncellus is discoursing in the place whence it has been extracted. He therefore makes the latter 53 kings to have been Phœnician shepherds, or tributaries to the shepherd kings reigning at Thebes during this disgraceful period of foreign domination; which he names the Middle Kingdom.† We must confess our firm conviction that this assumption is groundless. The passage itself gives no support to it; but, on the contrary, speaks of all the Theban kings who ever had reigned over Egypt from the beginning to the end of the monarchy. It becomes quite evident that he does so, when we consider the argument in which he was engaged. He was endeavouring to clear the Biblical dates assumed by the Greek church from the doubts and uncertainties which were cast upon them by the writings of Eusebius, the historian, the transcriber of Manetho's list of kings, which, as we have already

* Appendix of Authorities, B., pp. 667, 675.

† Egy. Pl., p. 118, &c.

explained, err greatly in excess of time. Syncellus was a bitter, unscrupulous controvertist, as Bunsen informs us.* The 38 kings, and 1076 years, was quite as ample a space of time, as his argument would admit. Assuredly, therefore, he would not further weaken it by the introduction of 53 other kings, for whose successive reigns his scheme of chronology had made no provision whatever, but would have left his opponent to find that out for himself. Argument is, however, needless. The expression "Here (that is with the 38th king of his list) ended the monarchy or government," ἡ ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν ἀρχη, which Bunsen has strangely translated, "Here ends the succession," settles the point. The 38 kings were the successive rulers of all Egypt, reigning at Thebes, before the invasion of the Shepherds, as Bunsen has rightly decided; the 53 kings were those who ruled Egypt at Thebes, from the expulsion of the Shepherds to the termination of the monarchy; not 53 Shepherd kings, or tributaries to Shepherd kings, reigning at Thebes during their invasion, as the same authority assumes.†

This our view of the question agrees remarkably well with another passage from Syncellus, to which we have already made reference, which declares that the lists of Manetho contained the history of Egypt for 113 gene-

* Egy. Pl., p. 209.

† This, I am delighted to find, is also the opinion of Lepsius. Einl. p. 520, where he points out the important fact, that in the Laterculus of Syncellus there are just 53 kings from AMASIS I., the expeller of the Shepherds, to AMASIS II., the cotemporary of CAMBYSES.

rations, and 3555 years.* That in the course of 113 generations, 91 kings had reigned at Thebes, is an aproximation to historical accuracy, quite as close as could possibly be expected in the annals of a Theban temple.

In accordance with these indications, we shall find, when we come to the remains of Egypt, that the Middle Kingdom has scarcely a monumental existence, and that they also follow Syncellus in our reading of him, and make the monarchs of the New Kingdom of the German school the immediate successors of the last monarchs of the Old Kingdom.

To this portion of the work before us, we postpone the further consideration of the question.

DYNASTY I.

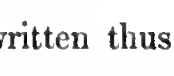
MENES, THE PROTO-MONARCH OF EGYPT.

The narratives of Herodotus and Diodorus, the lists of Manetho, the canon of Eratosthenes, in a word, every ancient literary authority in existence, makes the name of the first man who reigned in Egypt to have been MENES. The testimony of the existing monuments, is strictly accordant hereto. The name of MENES, written in hieroglyphics,  occurs at the head of the ancestors of RAMSES the Great, in a relief on the roof of the Memnonium, near Gournou, in Western Thebes. It is also recorded in

* Appendix of Authorities, A., p. 605.

hieratic characters in a Papyrus brought from Thebes, by Drovetti,  and now in the Museum at Turin. This Papyrus is broken into very small fragments, which were put together about twenty years ago, by Seyffarth, a German scholar, and the originator of a mode of reading hieroglyphics which has long been exploded as a mere flight of fancy. It was according to the interpretation of its meaning, which he imagined his system afforded, that he pasted together the scattered morsels of the Papyrus, that remained of this manuscript. Champollion had perceived that it was a list of the names of kings, when he first visited Italy, in 1825. Lepsius and Bunsen extol the arrangement of this manuscript by their countryman as a prodigy of critical acumen and mechanical exactitude, and claim for it, in its present condition, the authority of an undoubted historical document. For ourselves, after some experience in the arrangement of broken papyri, both in this country and in Egypt, we must confess we are altogether in the dark as to the principle upon which Seyffarth proceeded in the restoration of the confused mass of morsels of papyrus inscribed with a writing, of which it now plainly appears he did not know a single character. Until this point is explained, we feel at a loss to understand the grounds upon which we are required to accept, as facts of undoubted history, the royal names, of which it contained a list; and which, according to the calculations of Lepsius, amount to about 250.

We are able to point out another monumental

occurrence of the name of MENES, which, though not cotemporary, does not yield either in interest or importance to either of those we have already noticed. On the two remaining slabs of the now utterly-ruined tomb of Ghizeh, which is numbered 96 in the ground-plot of Lepsius, the name and titles of the founder of it are written thus, . The reading of this group is perfectly easy and unmistakable. It is *stn-hk-mne*, "the royal governor Menes." The high functionary, who bore the name of the proto-monarch, lived in the times of OUSERCHERES, the founder of the 5th dynasty. It is not improbable that he was the lineal descendant of MENES. We may here notice, that Dr. Lepsius supposes that the name of the sacred white bull of Heliopolis, *Mnevis*, has also some connection with that of MENES.* This is also highly probable.

These transcriptions of the name of MENES all belong to later periods. The one at Ghizeh dates about 200 years after his times. That at the Memnonium belongs to the 19th dynasty, early in the New Kingdom. The Turin papyrus is certainly not more ancient than the Memnonium; in all probability, much more modern. Not a trace or vestige of anything belonging to the age of MENES, or his successors for many generations, is known to exist in Egypt. To the pages of the classical writers, therefore, we must have recourse for the only remaining historical notices of the first man that reigned there.

MENES is said to have been an inhabitant either of

* Einl. p. 50.

This, a city in Middle Egypt, or of Tanis in the Delta. The different transcriptions of the texts of Manetho leave doubtful the name of this city. Bunsen has decided for This, which was situated fifty miles to the north of Abydos. We are, on the other hand, disposed to believe that Tanis in the Delta was the native city of the proto-monarch. The ruins of This have never yet been identified; but it is not easy to disembark anywhere in this portion of the valley of the Nile without meeting one of those mounds of potsherds, of hewn stones, and of broken tablets with hieroglyphics, which are the unerring indications of the site of an ancient city. MENES is celebrated as the founder of the city of Memphis, and also as the builder of the great temple of Phtha, the tutelary divinity of that city, for which it was renowned in all after times. He is even still more renowned for a vast series of engineering operations, whereby he controlled the waters of the Nile, giving a new direction to them; so that they no longer diffused themselves in pestilential swamps over the sand of the Lybian desert, but took an eastward direction, leaving dry their former channels. By the account of Herodotus, which was related to him by the priests, it would seem that the river, in the times of MENES, forced its way through the sand of the desert, at certain points on its western bank, probably at the gorge of the Faioum, and at a place on the present Canopic branch to the northward of Ghizeh, near the modern town of Wardan (*see Map*), so that the portion of the present valley of the Nile contained between the hills of Tourrah and Abousir, which comprehends

the site of ancient Memphis (as well as of modern Cairo, about twenty miles to the northward), was only rescued from the utter sterility of the surrounding desert by an inconsiderable branch of the river. The great bulk of its waters rushed westward through the gorge of the Faioum and the bend of the river below Ghizeh, to waste their fertilizing energies on the sand of the deserts, and finally to be absorbed by them, or to make their way to the sea through the barren passes of the Bahr-bela-ma and the valley of the Natron Lakes. These works consisted of systems of mounds and fosses, by which the river was diverted from its western course, and conducted, in its integrity, through the valley of Memphis. Operations of equal magnitude were afterwards required to preserve the rising city from being overwhelmed by the world of waters that now rushed past its walls, and to diffuse them over the adjacent lands. MENES was the author and finisher of these also. He dug a canal, which at this day leaves the river at Magnoun to the north of Benisoueff, and, after traversing the entire plain of Memphis, joins it again near El Kattah, to the north of Ghizeh, on the Bolbatine branch; the commencement of it being close to the southernmost of the mounds of Menes; its termination very near the northernmost (*see Map*). He also excavated a vast reservoir at the foot of the mountain of Abousir, on the western bank of the new course of the Nile, to receive the superfluous waters of the overflow. The purpose of Menes in deflecting the Canopic branch from the valley of the Natron Lakes has evidently been

to increase the supply of water to Tanis, his native city, and to the other new cities that were then arising on the borders of the Eastern Desert. The Phathmetic branch would then be a mere rivulet, very insufficient for the irrigation of the land required by their increasing population (*see Map*).

We can only say of these works that they were worthy of the generation that built the pyramids of Ghizeh. They have changed the face and configuration of the earth's surface. Commensurate in magnitude with the vastness of the noble river, whose (to modern art) resistless torrent* they controlled and directed, they have effectually, and for all time, assigned to it the course from which it can no more deviate. The moles of Cyclopean masonry, by which he accomplished these wonders, are now buried deep beneath the mountains of sand which, in the lapse of so many ages, have been heaped upon them by the hamseen. The same irresistible agency has long since effaced all traces of the fosses and minor channels of MENES; but the waters of the Nile still bow to the mandate of the mighty dead. For more than 4000 years they have been beating against the barriers whereby he interdicted their westward course, but they cannot overpass them.†

We have very few other particulars of the reign of MENES. It was a very glorious one. He instituted the worship of the gods.‡ He defended the borders

* Witness the Barash. † Herod. lib. ii. cxcix.; also c. iv.

‡ Diod. Sic. i., p. 137.

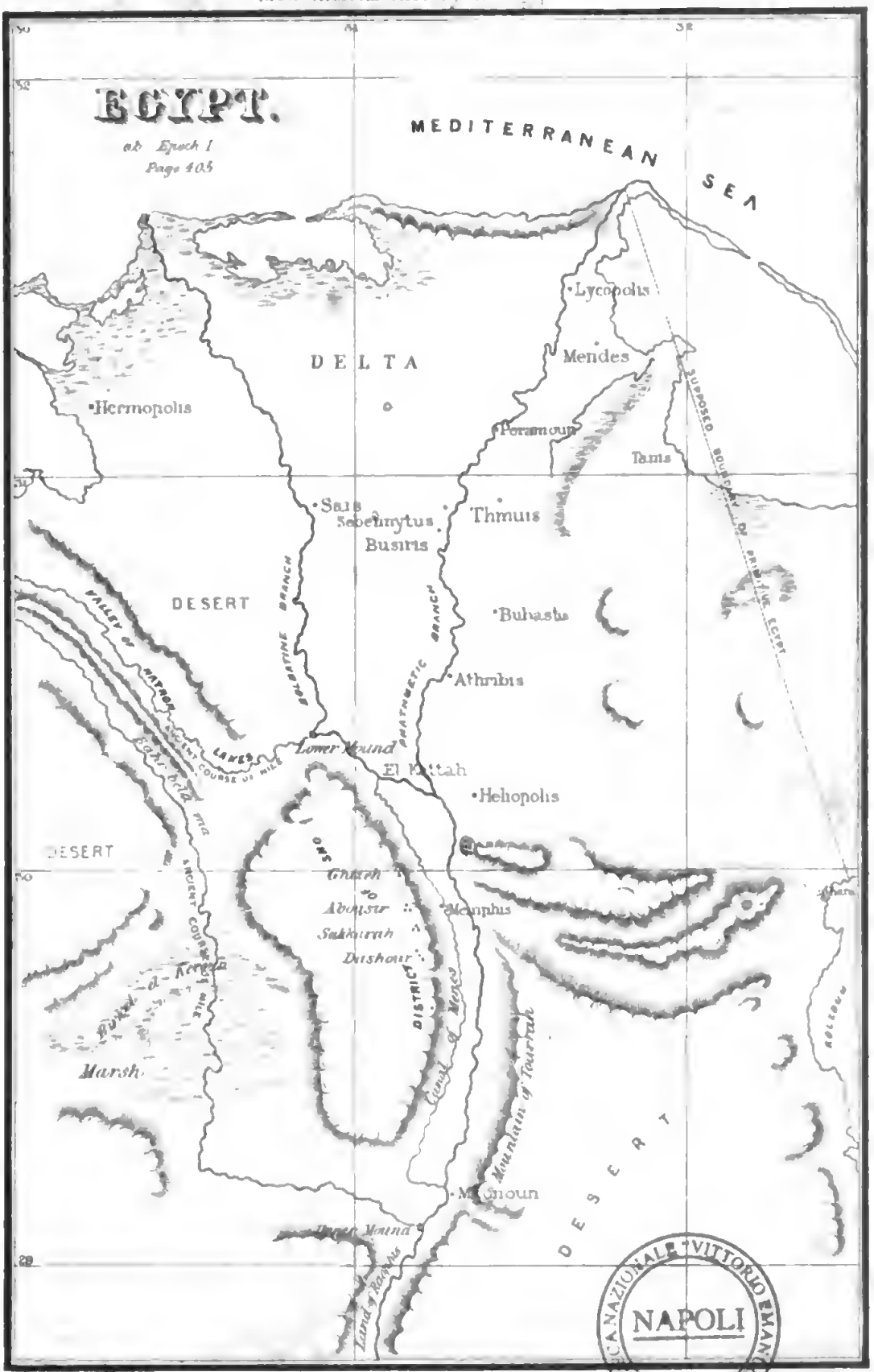
of his kingdom against foreign enemies, as well as increased its internal prosperity. He also invaded the enemies' territories, and added thereby the glories of foreign conquest to himself and to his country. Under the name of *Mnevis*, he is most probably the monarch mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (i. 45), as the first to give written laws to Egypt. One other particular only has been handed down to us. He was killed by a hippopotamus, after a reign of sixty years.*

The reign of MENES, the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, is, perhaps, equally eminent in the history of Egypt and the world, as a chronological epoch, as for the great works he performed. One only certainty regarding this epoch has been handed down to us by the Greek authors. Josephus informs us that MENES lived many years before the patriarch Abraham.†

Some other asserted facts also contained in the ancient authors will now require our careful consideration. We have already noticed the canon, or key to the lists of Manetho, by which it appears that the actual duration of the Egyptian monarchy extended over 3555 years, and 113 generations. Assuming this number to be genuine and historical, with the German school, the commencement of the reign of MENES dates from the year 3893 B.C., as Lepsius has proved with much learning and research.‡ From the pages of the same highly accomplished scholar and most diligent student, we extract the admitted chronological facts

* Manetho. Or, sixty-two years—Eratosthenes.

† Ant. Jud., b. 8, ch. 6, sec. 2. ‡ Kritik der Quellen, p. 499.



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which, to our apprehension at least, directly give the lie to this canonical number, and compel us to examine anew the ground of its asserted genuineness.

The historical traditions of all the nations of the ancient world have, in the course of the last twenty years, been made the subjects of special research by the students of Germany. In the prosecution of these inquiries they have taken advantage of the very widely extended range of documents with which the constant accumulation of manuscripts, copies of inscriptions, and monumental remains, during this period, in the libraries and museums of Europe, has supplied them. Armed with all these advantages, the early histories of Greece and Rome have been subjected to close analysis by a man of memory no less eminent than Niebuhr. The obscure and intricate mazes of the historics of the Hindoo nations have been, to some extent, disentangled by the sagacity and patience of Ideler and Lassen. The Chinese annals have received much useful illustration from the labours of the Missionary Guetzlaff. The few available remains of Ancient Babylon, of Persia, and of Arabia, have also engaged the attention of Ideler; while, upon the Hebrew chronology, as embodied in the Scriptures, and the vast mass of commentary upon them in all languages and of all ages, have been lavished the life-long labours of a host of scholars, in every conceivable stage of belief and unbelief. The results of all this expenditure of mental energy are among the most remarkable that ever were obtained by critical research.

The flood of Noah, according to the Scripture

chronology, notwithstanding that it has been rendered intricate by many causes, clearly took place about the year 2500 B.C.

The flood of Xisuthrus is carried by the Babylonish records of Berosus back to the same year.

The Chinese place their deluge of Jao about 2300 B.C.

No certain date is obtainable from the Indian records. But the histories of the ancient inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula, and of the rest of the kingdoms located on both sides the range of the Himalaya, commence with a great flood brought upon the earth by the wrath of the gods against the sin of man; from which only eight persons escaped in a ship built by the command of Brahma, the Supreme Being.

The discovery of a coin bearing on the reverse a ship with eight persons, in the ruins of Apamea in Phrygia, suggests the high probability that the same tradition was not unknown to the ancient inhabitants of Asia Minor.*

The Deluge was familiar to the Asiatic Greeks, as the flood of Ogyges; to the Greeks and Romans of Europe, as the flood of Deucalion.

The same tradition of a universal deluge has even crossed the Atlantic or Pacific ocean, and located itself upon the table lands of the Andes.†

The certain historical records of India, the oldest of the nations we have named whose traditions give

* Mionnet. Suppl. t. 7., pl. 12. No. 1, &c.

† See Humboldt. *Vues des Cordilleres,* vol. ii., p. 119.

no date to the flood, go no further backward than 800 B.C., probably not so far. These undated traditions of the flood, therefore, merely confirm the fact of its occurrence, without in any way interfering with the time which the dated ones assign to it.

Here, then, we submit is as strong an argument, *à priori*, against the historical accuracy of the date of the reign of MENES, as could well be constructed.

We have already called the attention of our readers to an equally strong ground of distrust as to the credibility of the lists of Manetho, which presents itself to us at the very commencement of them. Still more to increase our suspicion, the falsehood which gives birth to it lies to a point identical with that which the exaggeration of the canonical number has been designed to serve. It magnifies the antiquity of Egypt by the ridiculous fable of a succession of gods reigning in the valley of the Nile for some 17,000 years. We submit that these two considerations establish in themselves a strong case against the historical accuracy of the canonical number.

We are, however, as yet, but at the threshold of our argument against it. We have now to inform our readers, that the desire to magnify the antiquity of one's country was a sentiment universal among the inhabitants of the ancient world, and that all men seem to have felt it a patriotic duty to make the land of their birth the most ancient of all nations, at any expense whatever, either of truth, or fact, or probability. That Egypt kept first and foremost in this race for an ancient origin, we have some remarkable

instances in the accounts preserved by the Greek authors.

The priests of the temple of Phtha, at Memphis, told Herodotus that, from the times of MENES, the builder of the temple, to their own times, 341 generations of men had passed away from the earth. The factor by which the number of years that had elapsed in this period was to be obtained, was also given to him. It is three generations to the century, which gives the moderate sum of 11,366 years for the date of the reign of MENES, before the visit of Herodotus; that is to say, the Egyptian monarchy was founded B.C. 11,806! This was the account given to Herodotus by the Egyptian priests, the authors and custodes, be it remembered, of the lists and the canonical number extracted from them, which we are now called upon to receive as an undoubted fact of history.*

We have already alluded to another extremely silly old wife's fable, which was imposed upon the credulity of the same traveller by his Phrygian dragoman. It related that king PSAMETICHUS, of the 26th dynasty, was exceedingly anxious to ascertain which was the most ancient nation in the world. He therefore took two infants of poor parents, and gave them to his chief shepherd, directing him to put them in the pens with the she-goats, in a solitary pasturage, where they should never see the face, or hear the voice, of man. After they had been there two years, the shepherd was directed to go in to them, and notice the

* Herod. lib. ii., c. 142.

first articulations they uttered. This was repeated many times; and, upon every occasion, they stretched out their hands towards him, and cried, "βεκὸς" (*Bekos*). The sagacious monarch immediately set on foot an inquiry in what language this word meant anything; and, after much difficulty, discovered that it was the Phrygian word for *bread*. "After this," proceeds the narrator, "the Egyptians no longer call themselves the oldest of nations, but assign this honour to the Phrygians." We have already explained that βεκὸς is the Greek transcription of the common appellative of bread in the Egyptian language; and that, consequently, the declared result of this ingenious experiment was exactly that which might have been anticipated: viz., that Egypt was the oldest of nations. The Phrygian youth, who was the guide and interpreter of Herodotus through the wonders of Egypt, took a clever advantage of the historian's ignorance of both languages, to obtain for his own country an honour to which it had no title whatever, and which had never been assigned to it. The historian evidently recorded the narrative on the authority of his dragoman only.*

It is needless to cite a longer array of classical authorities in proof of the prevalence among the nations of the ancient world, of an intense desire after a high antiquity of origin. We submit that this state of mind would naturally tend to produce in the keepers of the records of Egypt, a leaning towards exaggeration in numbers, even if we admit that they en-

* Lib. ii., c. 2.

deavoured to keep them honestly. But how is such an admission possible with the facts that are now before us? We cannot refrain from the expression of our great surprise, that considerations at once so obvious and so weighty should have been altogether overpassed by the accomplished scholars who are presenting to us the canonical number of Manetho's lists, as undoubted history, adding the weight of their great authority to as questionable an assumption as you shall find in the entire compass of ancient literature.

The difficulties into which Dr. Lepsius is thrown by this assumption, and his mode of escape from them, will next require our consideration.

Assuming the duration of the Egyptian monarchy to have been 3555 years, the first year of MENES preceded the year of the Deluge by more than 1300 years. Lepsius infers from hence that the Flood of Noah never reached Egypt or Africa; but that it was a catastrophe, of a strictly local character, confined to the regions south of the Caucasus.* He considers this assumption to be supported strongly by certain considerations drawn from the knowledge acquired from the partial reading of the hieroglyphic texts. It is our intention to deal with the facts he has inferred, and not with the reasonings by which he has arrived at them, which are exceedingly elaborate, and for the most part highly unsatisfactory to our apprehension of them. He informs us that there is no trace whatever of Noah's Deluge to be found in the remains of Ancient Egypt;

* Einleitung, p. 22, *et seq.* Kritik der Quell., p. 500, &c.

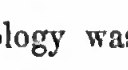
and that the idea of a flood is always associated in her annals with fertility and happiness.*

The latter part of this statement is a necessary consequence of the physical peculiarities which distinguish Egypt from all the other nations of the earth. The only flood of which they see anything is the harbinger of fertility and plenty.

On the former part of it, that there is no trace of Noah, or the Deluge, in the hieroglyphic legends, we have no hesitation whatever in stating our conviction that Lepsius is mistaken. Our proof is a very direct and plain appeal to the senses; not an elaborate exercitation of the intellectual powers. It is to be found in the name of one of the most ancient gods of Egypt, who was entitled "the father of the gods," "the giver of mythic life to all beneath him." Birch has truly identified this god with water. He was in reality the mythic impersonation of the annual overflow of the Nile. His name is written  which is ordinarily transcribed *nb* in Roman characters. It seems, however, to have escaped the notice of most students of hieroglyphics,† that, in the tomb of Nahrai, at Beni-hassan, which belongs to the times of the 12th dynasty, the change  constantly takes place in the orthography of this group. This variation shows the phonetic power of the ram (which, like the water-vase, is used as

* Einl., p. 24.

† It is mentioned by Sir G. Wilkinson; *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, vol. ii., p. 50.

a symbol, as well as a sound, in this group) to have been *h* or *u*, and not *b*, as had been inferred from its occurrence with that sound in the Roman name *Tiberius*. Champollion and Birch had, therefore, with perfect truth, identified the name of this god with the word,  *nou*, or *nh*, which signifies, "the primordial water," "the abyss." So that the name of the divine impersonation of the annual overflow in the Egyptian mythology was *Nh*, or  *Nuh*, as it is not unfrequently written.* How it is possible not to recognize in this idol the apotheosis of the patriarch *Noah*, (נח or נוח), we must confess ourselves unable to understand; especially when we call to mind that so indissolubly was the name of Noah linked with the remembrance of the general Deluge, that it was afterwards called by the Hebrews "the waters of Noah."†

It is on this ground that we distinctly deny the assertion of Lepsius, that there is no memorial whatever of the Noah's Flood in the hieroglyphic records of Ancient Egypt. The stupendous pile of inferences which he has built upon this single assumption will fall to pieces of itself, should it prove that we have succeeded in grinding to powder his foundation-stone.

If these his inferences rest upon any other ground whatever than this assertion, it consists in the admitted fact that many of the primitive institutions of Egypt differed widely from those of the Asiatic nations. The most remarkable of these differences, and the only

* Dict., p. 415. † Isa. liv. 9.

one which will require our especial notice, is the institution of the Sabbath, which seems to have been lost in Egypt, where the decadal week of ten days was substituted for the week of seven days, of which we find traces among the other ancient nations of the earth.* Hence it is inferred that the origin of the civilization of Africa was altogether distinct from that of Europe and Asia. Any shadow of support, however, to such a theory, which may seem to project from this circumstance, vanishes at once before the well-known fact in geography, that Egypt is separated from Asia by a vast tract of desert, which, on the first dispersion of mankind, would form a perfect barrier to all but infrequent and casual communications between the inhabitants of its two borders. This circumstance alone accounts for the oblivion into which the Sabbatic institution had fallen in Egypt. The triple division of the month of thirty days into three weeks of ten days each, which was substituted for it, was suggested by its convenience, and also by the natural division of the year in Egypt into three seasons. The other points of difference between Egypt and the Asiatic nations, noted by Lepsius, admit of the same solution. They are nothing more than might have been anticipated in two incipient civilizations, both based upon the same extinct economy, growing up at the same time, in two countries distant from each other, and having but infrequent intercourse. The whole argument seems to stand thus:

I. The number 3555 is the esoteric or secret inter-

* Einl., p. 23, &c. &c.

pretation of the exoteric or vulgar summing up of the lists of Manetho, which amounts to near 6000.

II. Both these numbers are equally the fabrication of the priests of Egypt.

III. The circumstance that the lists, of which these numbers are the exponents, commence with an admitted fable, militates strongly against the assumption, that either of them has been constructed with that scrupulous regard to truth, which alone could entitle them to be received as history.

IV. The Flood of Noah was known to all the other ancient nations of the world; and according to the traditions of all of them, who have preserved any dates, it must have occurred 2500 B.C. If we admit the canonical number, the kingdom of Egypt was founded by MENES, 3893 B.C., giving to Egypt an age which exceeds that of the earth's present surface by nearly 1400 years. It is strongly suggested by this circumstance that the canonical number errs greatly in excess.

V. The fact that the numbers and additions to the lists, admitted to be fabulous, err in the same direction, adds great force to the suggestion.

VI. The taste for a remote antiquity of origin, which prevailed among all the ancient nations of the world, and especially in Egypt, still further strengthens it.

Thus we have established the highest of conceivable probabilities, that the canonical number is grossly exaggerated.

VII. We then proceed to the direct, and, as it seems to us, irrefragable, proof of its falsehood by pointing out

the occurrence on the monuments of the name of Noah, as the god of the inundation.

These are the grounds of our conclusion, that the canonical number, 3555, is no more entitled to confidence than the summation of the lists.

We were anxious to discuss this very important question at the outset of our subject. The error we have endeavoured to confute has given great, and, in our opinion, just, umbrage to that (in Britain at any rate) large class of readers who feel unwilling to entertain any question whereby the entire truth of the historic narrative embodied in our Divine Revelation would appear to be compromised. It has been our endeavour to relieve them of this scruple, by showing on what exceedingly feeble grounds the date has been assumed which disjoins the primitive history of Egypt from that of the rest of the world, and makes its civilization the issue of a hitherto unknown and unheard-of empire, existing some ten or twenty thousand years ago in the heart of Africa.

We now give the few hieroglyphic names of kings which have been assumed on tolerably satisfactory grounds to be those of the immediate successors of MENES.

The proto-monarch was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his son ATHOTHIS. This succession is recorded both by Manetho and the canon of Eratosthenes. He is celebrated as the builder of the royal palace of Memphis. He was also eminent for the study and practice of the healing art, and wrote books on anatomy. These particulars are from the lists. The canon tells

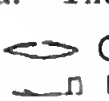
us that his name meant Ερμογενης, *i.e.*, "the son of Hermes." According to the former authority, he reigned for 57 years, according to the latter for 59.

It has been conjectured that in the few fragments of characters which occur on the Turin papyrus immediately after the name of Menes,  we have a portion of the hieratic transcription of the name of ATHOTHIS, which is to be thus transmuted into hieroglyphics,* . We put them both before our readers, though we are by no means prepared to say that the interpretation is a perfectly satisfactory one.

Of the eight kings of the first dynasty in the lists, the names of four only have been recognized by Bunsen in the canon of Eratosthenes. We believe that the 5th and 6th kings of the canon also belong to it; but they are so hopelessly corrupted in both authorities, through many transcriptions of them by persons ignorant both of their sound and import, as to be scarcely recoverable. One of them, however, has been identified by him in hieroglyphics, and with some probability. The name is written Σεμεμψης in the lists, and Σεμψως in the canon. In the former, he is the 7th monarch in this dynasty. He is the 5th king of Egypt in the latter. Many prodigies happened, and a fearful pestilence devastated Egypt, during his reign. These particulars are preserved in the lists. He reigned for 18 years, according to both authorities. The hieroglyphic

* Bunsen Egypten's Stelle, vol. ii., pl. 1, Altes Reich.

name of PSEMEMPSES is written thus:  *ra-pt-smn-to-to*, i.e., "sun [Pharaoh] governing firmly the two Egypts."

The picture of the sun, which begins the royal names of so many of the successors of PSEMEMPSES, occurs for the first time in his, so far as is yet known. It denotes that the monarch bearing it is the earthly impersonation of the sun in heaven, and of the paternal authority of Athom; that is, Adam, the father of mankind, who was deified at Heliopolis. It became, at a very early period, the honorific title of all kings of Egypt; the Pharaoh of the Hebrew Bible, as Wilkinson has rightly explained. The Egyptian word for sun is *re;* hieroglyphic, ; Copt. ⲣⲏ. With the definite article, *p*, or *ph*, it is the word *phre*, which is transcribed in Hebrew פרעה.

The second character in the ring is a symbol of authority, which is borne by the heads of families in the paintings and reliefs of the most ancient tombs of Ghizeh and Abousir. It was originally an implement of correction. It was called  *pt;* a word the meaning of which is preserved in the Coptic texts; ⲡⲱⲧ, "to chase away," "to drive." It was a thin flat piece of wood or hard leather, inserted in a handle. It was used to drive off the cattle when they incommoded the great man on his rounds of inspection over his flocks and herds. It would be equally available for impressing the tokens of his displeasure upon the bare shoulders

of his slaves, his domestics, and his children. The Hebrew word, פטיש, "a hammer," and the Greek, πατασσω, "to strike," show plainly enough that the word, *pt*, had been very early associated with the infliction of blows. In these remote ages the idea of government was indissolubly linked with that of coercion by personal chastisement (*see Plate*).

The name of PSEMEMPSES, or, as it is really written, PETESMENTO, has been copied from the Chamber of Kings at Karnak, the most important historical monument that has yet been discovered. We shall have occasion constantly to refer to it.

King PSEMEMPSES is the most ancient name legible in the chamber. He sits at the commencement of the uppermost of the four rows of kings facing to the left of the entrance.*

According to the lists of Manetho, the first dynasty of the kings of Egypt consisted, as we have seen, of eight monarchs, the sum of whose reigns amounts to 263 years; the declared duration of the dynasty being 252 years only; some of them were therefore co-regent. The canon of Eratosthenes reduces the number of kings from eight to five, and the duration of the dynasty from 252 to 190 years. Neither here nor hereafter, however, do we quote the numbers from either authority as in themselves entitled to be received as historical data. We wish this to be clearly understood.

* D. 1 of our Diagram : see vol. ii.

DYNASTY II.

The researches of Bunsen have elicited the fact regarding this dynasty, that the name of no one of its monarchs is recorded in the canon of Eratosthenes.* To the correctness of this conclusion Lepsius entirely assents.† It seems to follow from hence that the first and second dynasties reigned cotemporarily in Egypt, in different nomes or districts; notwithstanding that the lists place them in succession. The kings of the second dynasty are said to have been Tanites, like the first. The name of the first of them was BOCHUS. During his reign a huge fissure of the earth took place, near Bubastis, on the eastern border of the Delta, by which many lives were lost. This was doubtless an earthquake. It is not an uncommon phenomenon in Egypt.

His successor was CECHOUS, who is said to have introduced into Egypt the worship of animals. This strange superstition is evidently the offspring of the symbolism, or picture writing, which, as we have already seen, was elementary to the graphic system of ancient Egypt. When visible objects had become the symbols of abstractions and mental qualities, the representation of divine attributes by the habits of animals was an easy and natural step in advance, of the same mental process; and to make an animal, thus assimilated to a divinity, his living symbol or inpersonation, was an issue of the argument very convenient to the inventors, and by no means too gross for the simple apprehensions of

* Egypt's Place, p. 121. † Kritik der Quellen, p. 513, Note 3.

mankind in these remote ages. Of this animal worship, as it actually existed in Egypt, we have a vivid description from the pen of an eye-witness.

"Among the Egyptians," says Clemens Alexandrinus, "the temples are surrounded with groves and consecrated pastures; they are furnished with propylæa, and their courts are encircled with an infinite number of columns; their walls glitter with foreign marbles, and paintings of the highest art; the *naos* is resplendent with gold, and silver, and electrum, and variegated stones from India and Ethiopia; the adytum is veiled by a curtain wrought with gold. But if you pass beyond into the remotest part of the enclosure, hastening to behold something yet more excellent, and seek for the image which dwells in the temple, a *pastophorus*, [i.e., 'shrine-bearer,'] or some one else of those who minister in sacred things, with a pompous air singing a Pæan in the Egyptian tongue, draws aside a small portion of the curtain, as if about to show us the god; and makes us burst into a loud laugh. For no god is found within, but a cat, or a crocodile, or a serpent sprung from the soil, or some such brute animal; the Egyptian deity appears,—a beast rolling himself on a purple coverlet."*

CECHOUS is said to have introduced the worship of the bull Apis, at Memphis; of the bull Mnevis (which, as we said, Lepsius identifies with MENES), at Heliopolis, on the eastern bank of the Nile close to the Delta; and of the goat, the sacred animal of Nuh or Noah, in

* Pœdag., lib. ii., § 3, p. 262; Potter.

Mendes; a nome which gave its name to one of the easternmost ancient mouths of the Nile.

The name of CECHOUS, in hieroglyphics, was discovered by Lepsius in one of the tombs of Ghizeh,



kku. It was compounded in that of a plot of land which he had reclaimed, as in the case of his successors.

The third monarch of the second dynasty is named BIOPHIS in Eusebius's copy of the lists of Manetho. We believe it to have been written Ραωφις, and that Βιωφις is a clerical error. This emendation is suggested by the name of an ancient king of Egypt, which occurs in a long inscription in the tomb of Nahrai, at Beni-hassan, to which we have already referred. One of the tracts of land in the possession of Nahrai, and of his ancestors and descendants, is entitled thus,

 *i.e.*, "the land irrigated [lit. suckled; *mne-t*. Copt., ⲙⲟⲩⲛ, "a nurse," the determinative is a woman suckling a child], in the 19th year of king "*Ra-ōfu*," i.e., "the sun, the chastiser" [*ōfu*, Copt., ⲱⲫⲉ, "to chastise;" the arm, with the whip, is the initial].

That this monarch is the BIOPHIS of the lists, seems highly probable from the resemblance of the names, and the obviousness of the mistake, which may have occasioned the confusion of their initial letters. This probability is strengthened by another circumstance. It is recorded of BIOPHIS, in the lists, that he made the throne of Egypt hereditary to his female,

as well as his male, descendants. The epithet which qualifies his good work in irrigating some tract of land has not been found similarly associated in any other instance. It is exactly the feminine and uxorious metaphor that we should have expected from the repealer of the Salique law.

The lists are in great confusion at the close of this 2nd dynasty. The sixth, seventh, and eighth monarchs of it are entered again with their historical notices as the three last monarchs of the fourth dynasty. It has been assumed by modern critics that this last entry is the mistake; they have, therefore, been erased from thence. When we come to the fourth dynasty, we shall find that the monuments strongly favour the opposite conclusion, and that the error really consisted in placing them here.

There is, moreover, a singular peculiarity in the brief historical notices appended to the names in these two first dynasties. The cities and places mentioned in those of the first dynasty are all on the western bank of the Nile. MENES builds the city of Memphis there; ATHOTHIS adorns his father's city with a palace; and VAVENEPHIS, the fourth king, builds his pyramid in the district of Ko, which we shall hereafter recognize as the hieroglyphic name of Abousir, the vast mound of rock and sand which rises above the desert immediately behind Memphis to the westward.* On the other hand, the notices attached to the kings of the 2nd dynasty all refer to localities on the eastern bank of the Nile.

* See Map of Egypt at Epoch I.

The rock of Beni-hassan is thus situated, as well as Heliopolis, Bubastis, and Mendes. This, in addition to the circumstance that none of the kings of it are mentioned in the canon of Eratosthenes, certainly renders it probable that the first and second dynasties were two kindred families reigning at the same time on the two banks of the Nile.

There were six kings in the second dynasty. The sum of their reigns, in the list, was 199 years, which approximates to the 190 years of the first dynasty in the canon closely enough still further to countenance our assumption that the two were co-regent.

DYNASTY III.

The third dynasty is said, in the lists, to have consisted of nine kings, Memphites. The names of three of them have been detected by Bunsen in the canon of Eratosthenes. We believe that the name of another of them is also inscribed in the chamber of Karnak. It is in the same row in which we have already found the name PSEMEMPSES of the first dynasty, two defaced rings only being interposed between them (D 4).  It reads *ases* The second character  seems to be a package of some light substance. Copt., ACAI, "levity." It is constantly used in its present association as the interpreted initial of the syllable *as*. We suspect this to be the Αχης of the lists, the seventh monarch of the third dynasty, of whose reign we have no other particular than that it lasted for 42 years. We believe it to be the same monarch whose royal ring,

inscribed with different phonetics,  occurred in a tomb at Abousir, as one of the earliest kings. This tomb was broken up within three days of its discovery (about 1835) by the Sheik of Abousir. He used the stones in building a bridge across the canal from the Nile. It had also before been found by Rosellini in a tomb at Saqqarah, now likewise destroyed. The principal inducement for these destructions, by the Turks and Arabs, is the sale of the sculptured stones to the curiosity-collectors of Cairo.

We have now passed the period of tradition, whether recorded by the Greek authors, or in hieroglyphics on the monuments. The kings whose names stand next in the order of succession, according to the authority of the lists, are known to us by existing cotemporary memorials. In treating of them, therefore, we have to deal with some nearer approach to absolute history.

The place where the monuments occur, on which the names of these most ancient kings of Egypt are engraved, is situated on the western bank of the Nile, parallel with the southern border of the Isthmus of Suez.* It is a low hill of white nummulite limestone. On its summit stand the three well-known pyramids of Ghizeh. The greatest and oldest of them is built with the nummulite rock on which it stands. The coffer in the rocky platform, out of which the blocks for the great pyramid have been quarried, has served for the foundation of the second pyramid. Besides this, the rock of Ghizeh has been excavated to an extent

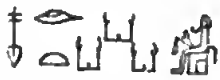
* See Map, u. s.

inconceivable to our modern notions of the powers of human labour, with square chambers of all dimensions. The plan of Lepsius numbers more than 100 of these chambers, all either containing reliefs or pictures, or worthy of note for some peculiarities of internal construction.* But these form but a very small proportion of the tombs actually in existence. In addition to these, square shafts, 60 and 100 feet in depth, have been driven down the rock perpendicularly. These are the only access to long galleries, with sepulchral chambers on each side of them. Nor did even all these suffice to accommodate the hosts of dead that crowded into the sacred precincts of the pyramids of Ghizeh. Vast quadrangular, oblong platforms were erected of blocks of the nummulite on which they stood, faced with the fine-grained limestone of the opposite hill of Tourrah. These also contained series of sepulchral chambers.

It is in this, the northermost extremity of the cemetery of Lower Egypt, that we find the names of the most ancient Pharaohs of whose reigns we have cotemporary monuments.

The first of these kings has left but scanty records of his reign. One of them informs us that he lost his son during his own life-time. In the inscription over the doorway of the son's tomb, at Ghizeh, the name of the father occurs  *Snfru;* in which we feel no doubt that we have the hieroglyphic

* Abt. i., bl. 14.

transcription of the name written Σηφουρις, SEPHURIS, in the lists of Manetho, the 8th king of the 3rd dynasty. The name of his son was , *nfr-iri-kau*, i.e., *Nephercheres*. The offices held by the son were those of Royal Prefect of Justice, Royal Attendant upon the Divine Apis, and, probably, Constable of the Palace of his Father. He appears to have died young. He is represented in the inner chamber with his wife and an infant son.*

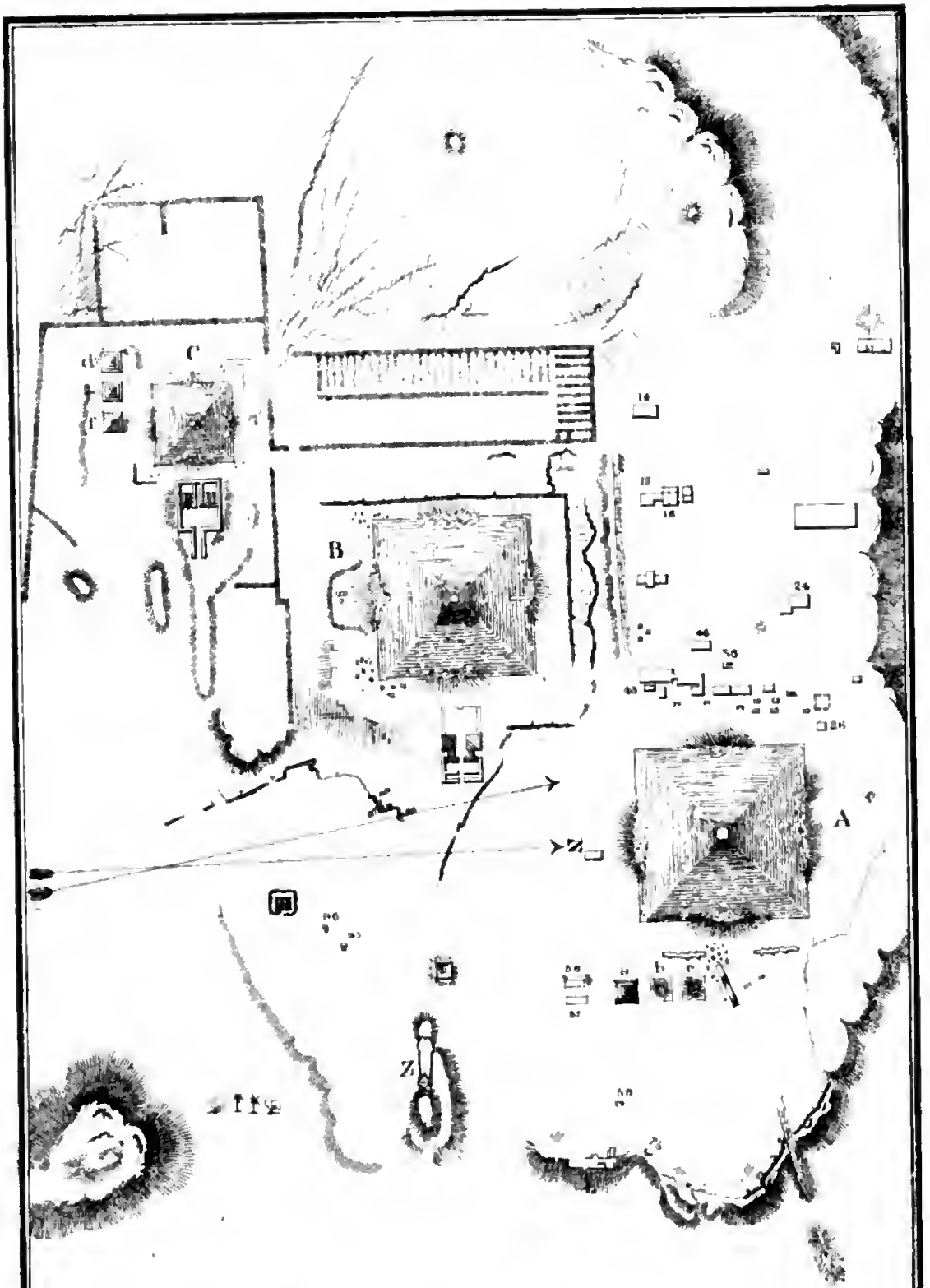
The tomb is situated in the immediate vicinity of three small pyramids.† It certainly occurred to us, on discovering the name of SEPHURIS in this tomb, that these little pyramids, two of them ruined, which stand in a line with it, were really the most ancient of all the constructions of Ghizeh, and would prove to be the burial places of SEPHURIS and his family.

It appears from the notices of the first dynasty, that the 4th king of that family, VAVENEPHES, was the first to erect a pyramid in the region of χω, q. d., Coptic, ϣω, "sand." It is impossible for any epithet more correctly to describe Ghizeh, Abousir, and the rest of the localities of this vast cemetery of Ancient Egypt.

For another transcription of the name and titles of SEPHURIS, we are indebted to the researches of Lepsius in the Sinaitic Peninsula. It occurs in the Wady Meghara. He is here accompanied by his standard or title,

* Lepsius, Abt. 2, bl. 16, 17; which is incorrect in some particulars. We transcribe from our own copy of it, for the exactness of which we are able to answer.

† Plan of Ghizeh, *a. b. c.*



PLAN OF GIZEH

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE III" - BIBLIOTECA NAPOLI

Published by Bunns and Goodwin Bath



i.e., "the great Horus [Aroeris], lord of justice." A title of this kind was given to the kings of Egypt in all ages. It is often written, as in the present instance, on a standard with a long fringe. It seems to have been a war-flag. The rock-inscribed tablet whence we have extracted it represents SEPHURIS holding a foreigner by the hair, and in the act of smiting him with a club or mace. He is called "SEPHURIS, the great god, the subduer, conqueror of countries." Like many of his successors, SEPHURIS was called upon to defend the eastern frontier of Egypt against foreign aggression. He first recorded his successes on the rocks of this desolate valley, and they have followed his example.*

In one other tomb, the name of SEPHURIS has been inscribed. It is the magnificent one which Lepsius removed from Abousir in the part of the cemetery immediately opposite to Metrahenny, the site of ancient Memphis. It was the sepulchral chamber of a *royal prince*  *st-rsh* (the *saris*, סריס, of the Hebrew Bible, Gen. xxxvii. 36, &c.), whose name was "Homtn." He was the prefect of many temples, or pyramids, in the vicinity of Memphis; and among others of the Apæum of SEPHURIS, *i.e.*, the divine stall for the sacred bull, of which SEPHURIS was the founder. The execution of this tomb is exquisitely beautiful.

The circumstance that SEPHURIS alone, of all his successors for many generations, was especially devoted

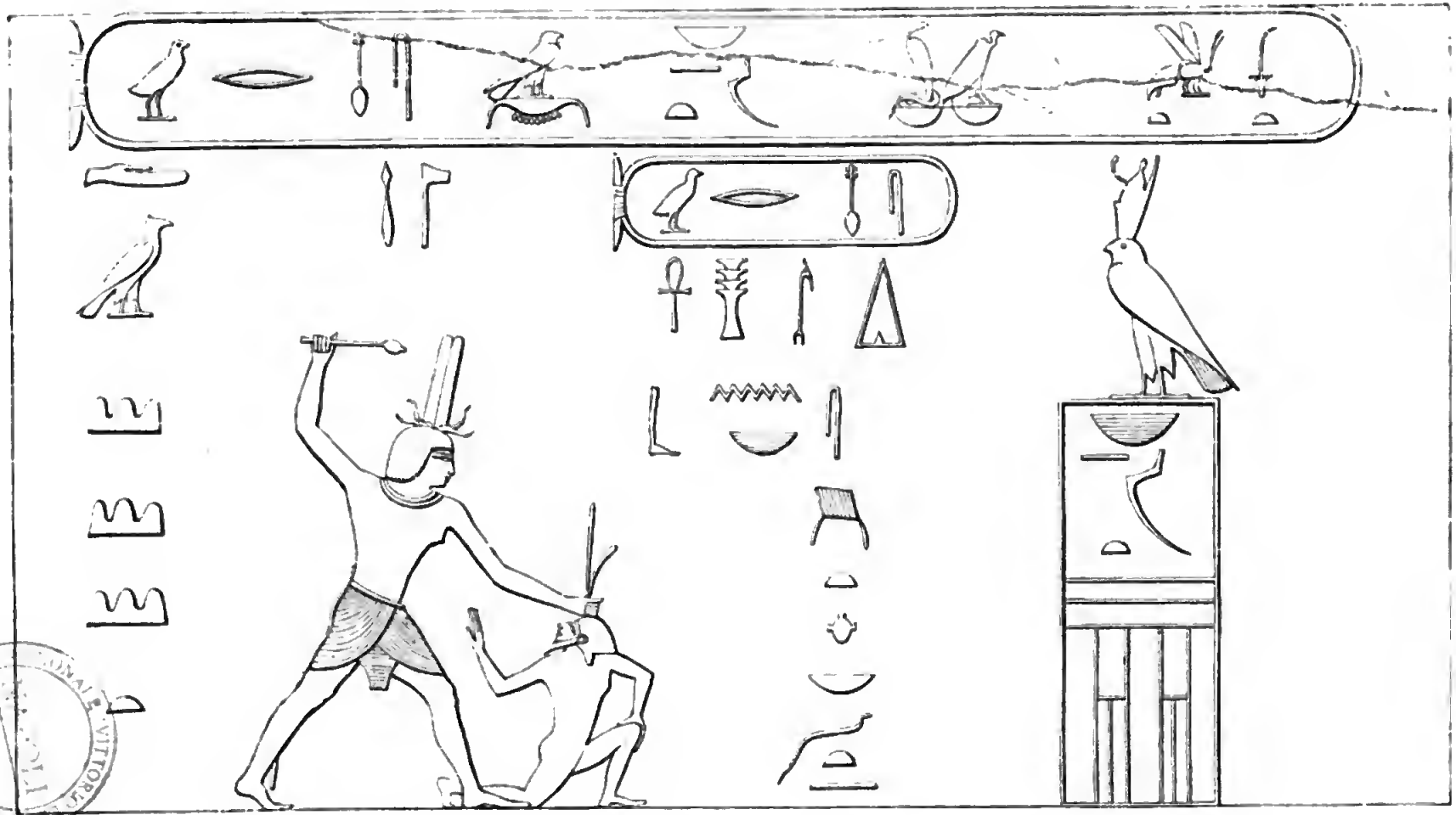
* Abt. 2, bl. 2.

to the worship of Apis, and built a temple to him, is a very important one to the history of the religion of Ancient Egypt. The fact also that his name never appears in the lists of god-kings, which contain those of the whole of his immediate followers, makes it very apparent that some great change in religion had taken place when they succeeded him.

We have already noticed that CECHOUS, of the 1st dynasty, was the founder of the worship of sacred animals. The double occurrence of the name of SEPHURIS in connection with the worship of Apis remarkably confirms the notice in the lists. The discovery, about three years ago at Abousir, of one of the vaults in which the mummies of Apis were deposited, might have contributed many important additions to our knowledge of this singular part of the worship of Ancient Egypt. But ten days had scarcely elapsed ere the whole was wantonly destroyed. The rags and bones into which the Arabs were encouraged (it is even said paid) by the curiosity-collectors, to pound the huge mummies of the bulls they drew forth from the pit, still lie in a vast heap by the mouth of it. The few whole specimens in existence are in the hands of these unprincipled keepers of curiosity shops, whose object in procuring this wholesale destruction, was, we need not say, to enhance the price of their own commodities.

As an additional proof of the early worship of the bull Apis, a picture of it occurs in a ruined tomb at Ghizeh, of the era of SUPHIS.

The name of SEPHURIS in the chamber of Karnak (D 7) is inscribed in the same line with that of



SEPHURIS AT WADY MEGHARA.

ACHES, associated with that of his next successor but one according to the lists (D 6). This circumstance confirms the present reading of his name, and renders probable the high antiquity which I have ventured to assign to him, in this identification of the SENOFRU of the monuments with the SEPHURIS of the lists. I rejoice in the support of the high authority of Lepsius upon this point.*

The history of Egypt is but very scantily inscribed in the lists, the only record of the 3rd dynasty that remains to us. Its nine kings reigned for 214 years. In the times of the head of it, NECHEROCHIS, the inhabitants of the Lybian Desert appear to have made an attack upon western Egypt, from the prosecution of which they were deterred by the sudden and preternatural enlargement of the disc of the moon.

SESORTHUS, the successor of NECHEROCHIS, was celebrated for his proficiency in the healing art; and is also said to have been the first to erect buildings with hewn and squared stones, instead of the rough polygonal blocks which in all nations have been the materials for the most ancient constructions.

These are the only historical notices of the third dynasty contained in the lists of Manetho.

The Lybian revolt, or attack, was doubtless a religious war, like all other wars in Ancient Egypt. In confirmation of this tradition, we shall find that the religious notices engraved in the tombs of the 3rd dynasty differ materially from those of the immediately succeeding epochs.

The tablet of SEPHURIS, in the Sinaitic Peninsula,

* Einl., p. 54.

affords strong grounds for the conjecture that the troubles in the times of his dynasty, on the frontiers of western Egypt, had driven the monarchs on that side the Nile into closer intercourse, or collision, with the cotemporary kings on the opposite bank; which, commencing, as was customary, with a war, terminated in the fusion of their families and the union of their kingdoms. The religious change, which we find from the monuments to have taken place at this time, renders some corresponding political change in the highest degree probable. The era of splendour and prosperity which immediately follows, makes it all but certain that the change consisted in such a consolidation of the monarchy as we have assumed.

The division of Egypt into Upper and Lower, we believe to have originated in these two cotemporary monarchies on the opposite banks of the Nile.

Our pursuit of the thin stream of historical truth that meanders through the brakes and thickets of fable and falsification in the temple histories of these remote periods, seems to have led us to the following results. In the days of MENES (whose first settlement in a location on the western bank of the river is made the commencement of the history), Egypt consisted of two petty co-existent kingdoms,* separated from each other by the broad waters of the Nile. The lists of the monarchs of these two co-existent kingdoms form the 1st and 2nd consecutive dynasties of the legends of the temples. Through some unrecorded event, the crowns

* From this circumstance, the first settler seems to have assumed his name. Mizraim, מִצְרַיִם, signifies "two cities," or "strongholds."

of the two Egypts became afterwards united under one sceptre. With this union began the third dynasty of the temple records; and, after the manner of similar unions in all ages, it ushered in a period of unexampled prosperity to the united monarchy.

The chronology of this our history must now be considered.

The time that had actually elapsed from the first settlement to the founding of Memphis by MENES we have no means of ascertaining. If we put it down at a century, it can scarcely be more. It was probably much less, as we shall presently see. It must be remembered, that the first settlers were a multitude bringing with them the adjuncts of civilized life; so that the progress of the new cities would be very rapid, as in modern colonization.

The interval between MENES and the 4th dynasty is in nearly the same condition as in the preceding one. The lists we find to have given about 200 years for the 1st and 2nd cotemporary dynasties, and 214 more for the 3rd. The same interval is reduced in the canon of Eratosthenes to 334 years. Even on the assumption that the first settlement and the foundation of Memphis were coeval events (or nearly so), and that the language, writing, and religion of Egypt were then in progress of invention, either of these numbers is much too great. This will sufficiently appear when we consider that the arts of sculpture and design in Egypt at the era immediately following, were, as compared with subsequent eras, in a state of high, almost unapproachable, perfection. This remark must be understood to refer

to the entire mass of the monuments of the epoch. Wander where you will amid the desolate wastes of Ghizeh, and its vicinity, it is scarcely possible to select, from among the morsels of sculptured stones of which the mounds are all but composed, an example, the reliefs and hieroglyphs on which are not executed in the highest style of Egyptian art.

Ghizeh, and the rest of the cemetery of Memphis, struck me as having the advantage in this particular over every other large assemblage of the ruins of Ancient Egypt.

Now the fine arts never attain perfection at once. At all times, and in all countries, they have passed through a series of crude attempts and imperfect beginnings, before they reach it. That art in Egypt must have been also subject to a law so universal as this, is self-evident. It is also shown to have been so by the coeval monuments of her later history. By comparing together the remains of different epochs, it clearly appears that Egyptian art has had its periods of perfection, of decline, and of *renaissance*, just the same as art in Greece and Italy. But we have no trace whatever of such beginnings, in these first productions of art in Egypt. It bursts upon us at once in the flower of its highest perfection. Where, then, are the imperfect attempts, which issued in this perfection, to be found? No such have been discovered, either at Ghizeh, or in any other locality in Egypt; notwithstanding that (as we have explained), no work of man perishes there. This circumstance compels us to assume that the skill of these primitive artists of

Egypt was a portion of that civilization which its first settlers brought with them when they located themselves in the valley of the Nile.

One other consideration will bring our inquiry home upon the point in discussion. It is indispensable to the continuance of art in perfection that the artists be kept in constant practice. If the demand for their productions fail but for a few years, a visible deterioration in their style is the certain consequence. Should this neglect of the arts continue for a single generation, art is lost. The skill, then, of the artists of Ghizeh, which they received traditively from the first settlers, must have been incessantly exercised during the entire interval of time that separated them from those first settlers. How otherwise could that skill possibly have been received from them? This is undeniably true: but if so, where are the artistic productions of the generations of men occupying the interval between the first settlers and the artists of Ghizeh? They are not to be found; and, as in the former instance, the present state of our knowledge of Egypt justifies us in concluding from thence that they have no existence. The inference is absolutely inevitable. The interval that separates the artists of Ghizeh from the first settlers in Egypt was but a brief one. Even the 334 years of Eratosthenes are more than it is possible to assume for its duration.

It will follow from hence that MENES was either one of the first settlers, or of the generation immediately succeeding; and also that the interval between the first colonization, and the commencement of the 4th dynasty, cannot have exceeded two centuries.

DYNASTY IV.

Probably at no place in the entire history of Egypt do the lists and the Greek authors harmonize better with the historical notices on the monuments than at the commencement of this dynasty. The course of our inquiry will lead us to other similar points of coincidence; and we shall find in every case that they represent epochs of great prosperity.

The state of Egypt at the commencement of this dynasty we will now endeavour to describe.

The first colonists of the valley of the Nile immigrated thither across the Isthmus of Suez. They settled near the head of the Delta; and in all probability founded the city of Heliopolis, where they dedicated a temple to the setting sun, under the impersonation of a man named *Athom*, in hieroglyphics . In this name the builders of Heliopolis identified the sun, their *divus pater*, with ADAM, the father of mankind. In exactly the same spirit of man-worship they also deified the Nile under the impersonation of Noah.

The native historians of Egypt make the event with which the monarchy commences, the crossing of the Nile by a party of settlers headed by MENES, and the founding by him of the city of Memphis on the western bank. We find, from the historical notices in the lists of Manetho, that the cities of Bubastis, of Mendes, and of Tanis, had all been built before this event; and that the latter city was the birth-place of MENES. This monarch seems to have made his new city and territory

independent of the eastern cities. By his great works of utility, he also acquired a certain degree of authority over them. This is implied in the title given to him by Eratosthenes, "the first king of all Egypt." The 1st and 2nd dynasties, however, evidently reigned co-temporaneously on the eastern and western banks of the Nile. We have already explained the troubles on the western frontier of the latter kingdom, which led to the union of the two monarchies in the later times of the 3rd dynasty.

MENES followed the precedent set him by his fathers, or ancestors, in choosing a god for his new city of Memphis. The name  *Phtha* is the hieroglyphic transcription of that of PHUT, the fourth son of Ham, whose descendants settled in the oases of the Lybian Desert, as is demonstrated by the circumstance that the country named after him, *Phut*, in the Hebrew texts, is translated Lybia (that is, North Africa), in the Greek of the Septuagint.* There was a propriety in making the first settler in Africa west of the Nile the patron god of the first city built on that bank of the river, which doubtless was not forgotten by MENES when he chose his local divinity.

The name of Phut in its change to *Phtha* has undergone an extraordinary process, highly characteristic of the modes of thought that prevailed in very ancient times. Written with the final *h* , which may be added to a Hebrew word without altering the sense, it repre-

* See Gesenius; Hebrew Lexicon: the word, פוּט.

sents the consonants of the verb, פתה פתח, "to disclose," "to reveal," which in the Coptic texts is ⲣⲉϩⲱⲧ, "to write hieroglyphics." It is this punning alteration of the name which has doubtless given the attributes of truth and stability, or confidence, to the god who bore it, and also the white garment in which he is always enveloped (*see Plate*). But a yet stranger use has been made of this pun upon the name of Phut. His animal representative has been named after the action in direct antagonism with that of the human original. The hieroglyphic name of the bull Apis  *hp*, is the Coptic verb, ϩⲱⲡ, "to hide," "to conceal," which is a mere transcription of the ancient verb, חפה חוף, with the same meaning. The comparison of the two groups renders this contrast very apparent. It will be seen that one group is as nearly as possible an inversion of the other. The meanings are in like manner in antithesis. In the bull Apis, therefore, were concealed the attributes which were revealed in Phtha. The second character in this group was originally the initial of the word . It is a picture of the pent-house, or screen, behind which the priest was hidden during some religious ceremony, probably that of delivering oracular responses. The group is written thus  (the pent-house being here the determinative of sense) in one of the tombs of Ghizeh.*

The state of the surface of the land of Egypt at this

* Grab. 59, Abt. 2, bl. 32.



BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE NAPOLI

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PHTHA IN HIS SHRINE.

remote period, and the changes effected in it by the engineering operations of MENES, we have already endeavoured to explain. The account of Herodotus, whence we have taken it, is neither very intelligible, nor easily reconcilable with itself; for whereas in one place (ch. iv.) he tells us that in the days of MENES the whole of Lower Egypt was a marsh, in another place (ch. xcix.), he leaves us to infer that the northern portions of the valley of the Nile were a desert, and that the proto-monarch had occasioned its fertility by embanking off the Nile on the western side, where it lost itself on the sands of the Sahara, and conducting it through the valley of Memphis. The former of these traditions was probably related to him by priests from Thebes; he heard the latter in the temples of Memphis and Heliopolis. There can be no doubt that the Nile formerly directed its course to the Mediterranean much further to the westward than at present. The valley of the Natron Lakes, and the *Bahr-bela-ma* (i.e., "the river without water," a perfectly dry water-course, running nearly parallel to the valley of the Natron Lake),* affords us a strong proof of the fact. It is, moreover, by no means physically impossible that the course of the Nile might be diverted, arduous as the work would be. Advantage might be taken of the never-failing phenomena of the rise and fall of that wonderful river, and the work would be accomplished at a less expense of human labour than that required for building one of the pyramids of Ghizeh; but with beneficial and useful

* See Map.

results surpassing it in a measure far beyond the powers of human calculation.

The great prosperity of the period which is now before us may in all probability have been the result of the full development of the great work of MENES, combined with the closer union, and entire subjection to one sceptre, of eastern and western Egypt, which appears to have taken place in the times of the 3rd dynasty.

The various copies of the lists of Manetho differ hopelessly among themselves in the number of kings they assign to the 4th dynasty. According to that of Africanus, which is the one upon which generally the most reliance is to be placed, it consisted of 8 kings, reigning for 274 years. The transcriptions of Eusebius raise the number of kings to 17, and the number of years to 448. They all agree, however, in placing SUPHIS (whom they identify with the CHEOPS of Herodotus, the builder of the great pyramid), among the monarchs of this Memphite dynasty or family.* Africanus happily records the names of the eight monarchs of this dynasty. That of SUPHIS only has been preserved in the other two copies. Some of them have been identified written in hieroglyphics on the monuments.

The earliest of these names appears to be that which Bunsen makes one of the kings of his 3rd dynasty, and writes in Roman characters, AMCHU-RA† . We do not very well understand the reasons either for the reading of the name, or the position he assigns to it. The identification appears to be beset with but few

* Eg. Pl., pp. 616, 617. † Altes. Reich, pl. 1.

difficulties. It reads *Shu-ra*,* of which the name, Σωρις, SORIS in the lists, the 1st monarch of the 4th dynasty, is an exactly literal Greek transcription.

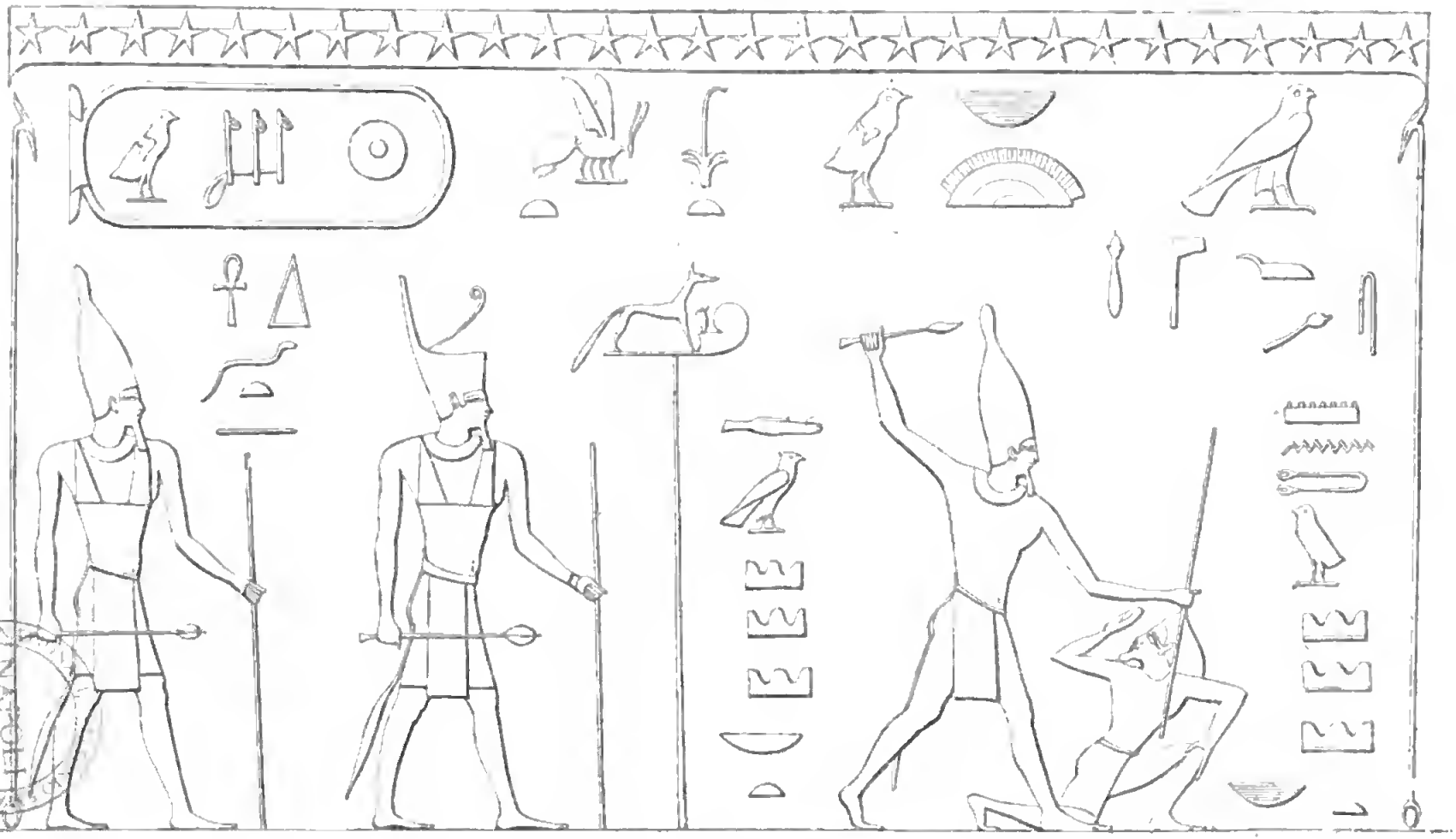
The name of SORIS is recorded in the Chamber of Karnak (D. 6). He is also the first monarch whose name is written with minium on the stones of a pyramid. These working drawings, inscribed on the inner faces of the blocks that compose the pyramids, seem to have been sometimes quarry marks, and in other instances, directions to the workmen engaged upon the vaulted chambers in which they occur. They principally consist of ruled lines, with the number of cubits to which they extend registered over them. The king's name is inscribed near these lines in a character not hieratic, but hieroglyphics rudely and hastily executed. The name of SORIS is thus written on the blocks of the little pyramid of Abousir, a pile which, though considerably less than the third and least pyramid of Ghizeh, is, notwithstanding, when it first rises to the view, crowning a mountain heap of utter desolation consisting of the blocks of ruined tombs and fragments of mummy cases, a vast and imposing structure. It is open, like most of the other pyramids, in the centre of its northern face. The access to the interior is by a steep incline, cut in the rock upon which the pyramid stands. The vault itself is by no means lofty; its sides, and the roof

* The picture of the disc of the sun occupied the uppermost place in the royal rings. Yet the Greek transcriptions show, that in the most ancient names it was all but invariably read the last; the remaining groups being qualifications, or titles, connected with the sun. *Shura*, for example, reads, "weighed, approved, found just by the sun."

(which is composed of two slabs standing obliquely), are of the limestone of Tourrah. It is built of blocks of the nummulite rock upon which it stands. The remains of a double enclosure, built of similar blocks, are still visible. The excavations of Lepsius ascertained that this enclosure once extended all round the pyramid, and that on the eastern side they included a considerable area, from which an avenue, stretching directly eastward, terminated in a small temple facing the Nile, which is here three or four miles distant. We learn, from the same high authority, that all these porticoes to the pyramids were on the eastern side.*

Like his predecessor SEPHURIS, SORIS had also to defend his north-eastern frontier against the desert rangers of Sinai. The subjoined tablet is inscribed on the barren crags of the Wady Meghara (*see Plate*). It reads: "[Horus] the hawk, divine and great, the mace in all the lands of Monthra,† the subduer of all lands." The personage here discoursed of, is the prince who holds his enemy by the hair, and smites him with the mace. This portion of the tablet refers to some military achievement accomplished in this neighbourhood by SORIS when a prince. The rest of the tablet commemorates SORIS as a king. It reads: "the lord of the festivals, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, SORIS ever-living." The two figures below represent SORIS as king of Lower and Upper Egypt, *i.e.*, of both banks of the Nile; in token of which dignities he wears the red and white portions of the *shent*. Immediately in front of

* Einleitung, p. 61. † The god of war.



SORIS AND THE CANAANITES.

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him on a standard is the jackal, the symbol of vigilance. Above him are the starry heavens, supported by two sceptres with the head of the Hoopoe, the symbols of purity.

That SORIS reigned 29 years, and that he was the 1st of a dynasty of Memphite kings, are the only particulars regarding him preserved in the lists.

The little pyramid of Abousir, and the tablet of Wady Meghara, are the only monuments of which it can be confidently said that they are cotemporaneous with this monarch. We give here the copy of a slab of Tourrah stone, in the collection of Dr. Abbott, of Cairo:



which reads: "the priest, and chief of the scribes, to the pyramid of SORIS, in the land *Sho*." It is quite certain that the personage from whose tomb this stone has been taken was a priest in the temple, the ground-plot of which was discovered by Dr. Lepsius. The inscription is also highly interesting, as giving the name, in hieroglyphics, of his pyramid, and of the district of Abousir and its vicinity, which we can scarcely doubt is the χω χωμηι, "the district of *Sho*" (or sand), in which the first pyramid was built by VAVENEPHIS.

The name of SORIS frequently appears in the enumerations of the god-kings, which are so common in the tombs of Ghizeh. The origin of this strange superstition becomes very apparent in the connection in which it is placed by our present inquiry. All the gods of Egypt were at first human beings. It was merely an extension of the principle. The kings of Egypt

also began at the period now before us to be deified after death. Their names were qualified with exactly the same titles as the gods. Their pyramids, which were their tombs, were made also temples to their honour. Their worship was maintained by rent charges upon certain lands, which were always specified. In many cases they were the lands which they had themselves reclaimed. So honourable was the office of minister, or attendant, upon them, that the sons of Pharaoh, and the royal princes of Egypt, inscribed it in their tombs among their highest and most envied titles.

We have already explained that SORIS is the first deified king. Neither SEPHURIS, ACHES, RAOPHIS, CECHOUS, nor even MENES, ever appear among the god-kings.

Probably of all the men that have lived upon the earth, no one has gained for himself a wider renown among her inhabitants, or erected so vast and enduring a monument upon her surface, as the successor of SORIS. The name of SUPHIS, or CHEOPS, the constructor of the Great Pyramid, is one of the household words of the History of Egypt. He built the vast monument of his glory, or of his folly, at an era so far removed from all the certain notices of written profane history, that we have no measuring reed wherewith to compute the breadth of the vast chasm that yawns between the two; so widely distant from all the sympathies and interests of the great family of man now sojourning on the earth, that even the sacred history has preserved of the men of the generation of SUPHIS no other memorial than

that they lived, became fathers, and died. Yet the pyramid of SUPHIS still towers above the sand of the desert; the ghastly whiteness of its nummulite blocks glares in the burning sun, and its long shadow stretches across the sterile wastes that surround it, and darkens the maze and wheat fields of Ghizeh as the day declines. When the spectator can obtain, from some favourable point of view, a distinct conception of the vastness of this pile, no words can describe the overwhelming sense of it which rushes upon his mind. He feels oppressed, and staggers as beneath a load. Different from many other large ruins, the pyramids at no point of view become mounds or mountains. They are the works of men's hands. This fact is always apparent and prominent; and in it doubtless originates the shadowy sense of awe which bewilders the mind on receiving the first distinct impression of their magnitude.

The well-known and valuable researches of Colonel Howard Vyse have put us in possession of all the facts regarding the pyramid of SUPHIS which can be inferred from a close examination of its external and internal structure. To his pages we must refer the reader who may wish to enter upon this part of the subject. The height of the pyramid is 447 feet; the breadth of its base 720 feet. To copy more of these particulars here would be merely to lengthen our work without usefully elucidating the subject of it. The internal chambers approached by steep inclines, the repetition of these inclines at opposite points, the whole interior cased with gray granite, and the square inscriptionless sarcophagus of the same material in the centre of the largest cham-

ber, are familiar to every reader of the antiquities of Egypt. One or two circumstances only, which do not appear to be well understood, will here require our attention.

The steep inclines by which, in common with all other pyramids, access can alone be obtained to its chambers, were used for the purpose of lowering into the vaults the receptacles of the dead, whether sarcophagi or mummy-cases. The huge dimensions and vast weight of the former must have rendered the operation of regulating their descent down these steep plains, of highly polished granite, one of extreme difficulty and danger to the workmen, especially with the very imperfect apparatus with which the men of these remote eras were acquainted. It is even now only with the utmost difficulty, and by the constant assistance of the Arabs, that either the ascent or descent of many of these passages can be made. What then must have been the toil and danger incurred by the wretched slaves who were compelled to risk their own lives in depositing safely, in the vault below, a vast mass of sculptured granite of the weight of many tons?

Another point also regarding the pyramid of SUPHIS seems to require explanation. It is the generally received opinion, that this pyramid was originally covered with a casing, which, ascending in one unbroken polished plain from base to summit on each of the four sides, brought out the vastness of its dimensions to the spectator even in its immediate vicinity; a conception which is now dispersed or enfeebled by the magnitude of the parts of which it is composed. The researches of Col

Vyse and Lepsius led them to the conclusion that this casing was of the limestone of Tourrah. We are compelled to say that such is not our impression. In the course of repeated visits to Ghizeh, including a residence there for a time, it occurred to us that the casing had been removed from the pyramid of SUPHIS at a very early period, long before the days of Herodotus. The pyramid is now exactly in the condition in which he saw and described it to be.* It is equally apparent that the vast slabs which composed its casing must have been torn off by violence, for there are no vicissitudes in the seasons there to affect even the coloured sculptures which are exposed to the open air. The character of SUPHIS, as it appears in the same history given by Herodotus, renders it probable enough that his pyramid would be desecrated soon after his death: but it is hard to conceive what other motives than convenience and interest can have induced the men of after times to go through the incredible labour which has been expended in the removal of such a mass of material. The slabs, therefore, must have been taken away for the purpose of employing them in buildings at Memphis, and other cities in the vicinity. Now the Tourrah limestone is very abundant in the whole of the eastern range of hills. It is also near the river, and therefore easy of transport everywhere. It is, consequently, very unlikely that the architects of these cities would go to Ghizeh, which is nearly six miles from the river, in search of a material so plentiful at many points far nearer and readier of access.

* See lib. ii., c. 125.

We were induced by this consideration carefully to examine the mounds of detritus which everywhere, and to an enormous depth, encumber the platform of rock on which the pyramid stands. We found that they were composed all but entirely of fragments of a gray granite, identical in appearance with that which lines the inner passages and vaults. It was this circumstance which forced upon us the conclusion, that the outer casing also had been of the same material, like that of the third pyramid. This granite was obtained not from Syene by the Cataracts, but from the peninsula of Sinai. Accordingly, Herodotus tells us that CHEOPS brought the stone with which he covered the pyramid from the mountains of Arabia (c. 124); an epithet not applicable to the limestone hills of Tourrah, which everywhere overhang the Nile, and do not reach so far either northward or eastward as to be with any propriety entitled to the name of Arabia.

The casing of the Great Pyramid, then, was of gray granite, a material not to be found anywhere either in Lower or Middle Egypt, or their vicinity; and, therefore, very valuable in that country, because brought thither from a great distance. It served for a series of ages as the granite quarry of Heliopolis, Memphis, and other cities in the vicinity. It is, we submit, thus, and thus only, that we can account for the entire and early disappearance of the casing, and also for the vast and deep *couche* of granite detritus which surrounds the pyramid.

The identification of the name of SUPHIS presents one of those demonstrative proofs, which are so rare in

archæological inquiries regarding other ancient nations, and so common in those connected with Egypt. Champollion, on his visit to Egypt, in 1828, copied a royal ring from one of the tombs of Ghizeh, which, with his usual sagacity, he detected as the name of SUPHIS  *Shufu*, of which Σωφις is the Greek transcription. Eratosthenes makes him the 15th monarch of Egypt, and says that his name means "hairy;" as it would appear correctly, for its hieroglyphic transcription represents the Coptic words, ϣⲟⲩ," "much," ϥⲱ, "hair." About four years after this identification, Col. Vyse discovered the same name traced in minium upon the blocks in the interior of the Great Pyramid. In the whole compass of antiquarian research there is scarcely to be found so perfect an identification as this.

Some particulars of the history of SUPHIS have happily been preserved by the Greek tradition. According to them, he was a grievous tyrant. He compelled his people to work in gangs of 100,000 at the vast pile, which to this day preserves the memory of his infamy. So inexorable were his demands upon the labour of his people, that there was no one to cultivate the land; the earth in consequence yielded no fruit, and the people died of hunger. Even the priests were not held exempt by their sacred office from the exactions of his taskmasters. The temples were closed, for there were no priests to offer, no offerings to bring, no people to worship. There was a great cry throughout his dominions! a cry of the oppressed against the oppressor; a cry of torment and bitter anguish. Such

a cry as thrills through my recollections as I now write; such a cry as, since the days of SUPHIS, has often pierced the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth from the land of Egypt. But did SUPHIS regard it? No more than Mohammed Ali or Ibrahim Pacha! The tyrant's selfish whim, be it the Great Pyramid or the Barash,* advances. What cares he for the sufferings of his people?

Some part of the Egyptians were kept by SUPHIS at work in the pyramid; others again were stationed in the barren valleys of Sinai, where (under the cudgel of the taskmaster) they hewed out the blocks of granite. Others of them were employed in transporting them from Sinai to the Nile, a long, wearisome distance. Here they were ferried across in boats to other parties of slaves, who waited to drag them along the noble causeway which SUPHIS laid from thence to the place of their destination,† the traces of which are still discoverable.‡

All this enormous waste of human energy, and labour, and life, was expended by SUPHIS in the preparation of his own tomb! No other object presented itself to the builder of the Great Pyramid! In what did the idea of

* An insane attempt to bar up the Nile at the head of the Delta, undertaken by the father tyrant in his dotage at the suggestion of an unprincipled French engineer. The utter madness of the scheme was perfectly understood by the Pacha's family. The first act of his successor was to order its discontinuance; but some thousands of men had then fallen victims to the relentless tyranny with which they were dragged to the works, and compelled to labour beyond their strength.

† Herod. lib. ii., c. cxxiv. ‡ See Ground-plot of Ghizeh.

such a structure originate in the mind of SUPHIS? and what were the motives which awed his subjects into submission to his tyranny? That SUPHIS and his subjects may have been haunted with the recollections of another great tower, which had exercised an important function in the destinies of the whole human race, is a consideration which seems to us satisfactorily to answer both the questions, and perfectly to solve the difficulty which is raised by them; for which otherwise we must confess our own inability to find any solution whatever!

Some few additional notices of the reign of SUPHIS are recorded in the lists of Manetho. He repented of his tyranny in the latter part of his life, turned *devôt*, and wrote a book upon religion, which was in high esteem among his countrymen in after ages. His reign is said to have lasted 63 years.

The memorials of SUPHIS, inscribed on the walls of tombs in the vicinity of his pyramid, strongly countenance this tradition of his penitence.

Seventeen different plots of land bearing the name of SUPHIS, and therefore reclaimed by his engineering operations, appear among the possessions of many royal princes; some of them his cotemporaries; others the courtiers of his immediate successors, who were buried under the shadow of his pyramid. In accordance with the tradition of the lists, one of these plots is entitled "the land of the collected books [library] of SUPHIS" .* "The royal palace of SUPHIS,"

* Grab., 36. Leps.

or "*Supheum*" , is also repeatedly mentioned in these tombs. A portion of valuable land was attached to it.*

Two tracts of land reclaimed by SUPHIS likewise belonged to the prince *Ra-en-ku*, one of the courtiers of SEPHRES, of the 5th dynasty (87 Ghizeh). The prince *Cephrenes*, of the same court (75 Ghizeh), had an estate named *Shufu-nfr-hk*, "SUPHIS, the good governor." While the wife of a third of the nobles of the same monarch, *Ra-phut* (89 Ghizeh), was related to SUPHIS, and her name was therefore a compound of his.

Thus clearly does it appear from the monuments, that, shortly after his death, the memory of SUPHIS was held in honour.

The Great Pyramid, with its precinct, was dedicated to the worship of SUPHIS after his burial. It is repeatedly named "the great temple of SUPHIS."

The important notices afforded by these tombs of the religion, manners, and customs, which prevailed in Egypt in the days of SUPHIS, will require consideration hereafter.

According to Herodotus, CHEOPS (it was thus he wrote the name of SUPHIS) reigned 50 years, and was succeeded by his brother CEPHRENES, who built the second pyramid. He has strangely mixed up error and misapprehension with truth in this narrative. His second pyramid is evidently the same as the second pyramid of modern times, for he tells us that it was nearly equal in dimensions to that of CHEOPS, as he

* G. 59, &c.

himself ascertained by measurement. The base of the second pyramid is a square of 684 feet. The height measured from the base, which is in a deep square coffer chiselled in the rocky platform, is 456 feet; so that its dimensions nearly approach those of the pyramid of SUPHIS. He was right also in the name of the builder of the second pyramid, as we shall presently discover. It was also true that SUPHIS was succeeded by his brother; but it was a gross mistake to confound this brother and successor of SUPHIS with the builder of the second pyramid.

The name of the successor of SUPHIS is not uncommon on the monuments of Egypt. It is written  *Nh-Shufu* He is the SUPHIS II. of the lists of Manetho, the SEN-SUPHIS of the canon of Eratosthenes, the successor of SUPHIS, and 16th king of Egypt. There is no known cotemporary memorial of this king wherein his name is not associated with that of his brother. In the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh the name of NOH-SUPHIS repeatedly occurs, rudely written with rubble, or minium, as the quarry mark of the stones of the building. It is on the stones which form the arches of the incline leading down to the inner chambers. We have already explained that the name of SUPHIS has also been read as the quarry mark of other blocks of which the pyramid has been constructed.

There is a large parallelogram of plain masonry, built with polished blocks of Tourrah stone, at the south-west angle of the Great Pyramid, which, for the beauty

of its construction, will scarcely fail to attract the notice of the traveller, even amid the wonders of Ghizeh. It has evidently been the tomb of some personage of rank. Two false door-ways, irregularly placed, break the uniformity of the front of this vault, which is the only part that remains in tolerable preservation. A band of hieroglyphics of large size runs along the architrave. There have also been inscriptions immediately over each of the false doors. From these hieroglyphics we learn that the personages buried in the vault beneath were royal princes, priests of the temple dedicated to SUPHIS and NOH-SUPHIS, which was the Great Pyramid.



The interpretation of this passage decides a point of much importance to the history of Egypt. The first group we have already ascertained to mean, "king of the two Egypts."* The character which follows occurs nowhere but in its present connection with the names of SUPHIS and NOH-SUPHIS. It represents a pontoon or moveable bridge for rendering accessible the two sides of the many canals with which the land of Egypt is intersected. The idea of *union*, or *junction*, suggested by the use of these bridges is very obvious. They appear to have been made of lattice or wicker-work. Their ancient name was probably *hōt;* whence the Coptic words, ϩⲟⲧ, "a basket," ϩⲱⲧ, "to pass over;" and some

* Rosetta, l. x. Group 7, *supra*, p. 142.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE" III
NAPOLI



TABLET OF SUPHIS AND NOH-SUPHIS.

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others appear to be derivatives. We conceive that in its present association it is an initial representing the sound, ϩωτ, as well as foreshadowing the meaning of the group. Followed, therefore, by the mouth, *r*, it makes the word, *hōtr*, of which the Coptic verb, ϩωτρ, "to join," "unite," is the exact transcription; and the Coptic word, ϩατρεϥ, "twins," an obvious derivative. We, therefore, read the passage, "the kings united [co-regent] NOH-SUPHIS with SUPHIS."

In the Wady Meghara, in the peninsular of Sinai, is an equally satisfactory indication of the co-regency of NOH-SUPHIS with SUPHIS. A double tablet, of the gloriously bold and free execution of the other monuments of this remote era, has been chisselled in a soffit in the face of the rock. For the accompanying very exact copy of this monument, we are indebted to the splendid work of Lepsius.* The column to the right is the standard of SUPHIS, as has been ascertained from many other monuments, and among them an alabaster vase, from Ghizeh, in a private collection. The hawk above the standard is common to all these ancient titles. It probably denotes the affinity, by direct descent, to the sun (of whom the hawk was the living symbol), which was claimed by all the kings of Egypt. The pontoon, followed by a quail which is inscribed on the standard, appears to us to represent the word *htu*, or *hut*, the Coptic transcription of which is ϩⲟⲩⲓⲧ, "unity," "union." The standard therefore, reads, "hawk [or sun]

* Abt. ii., bl. 2.

two in one [or two united]." The rest of the inscription confirms this reading; "king of Upper and Lower Egypt, kings united, double golden hawk [a not uncommon epithet of gods and kings] SUPHIS, sun of justice (?) [the tablet is here mutilated] watchful of his borders." Several characters mutilated here. The reading proceeds in the second tablet, "NOH-SUPHIS, great god, smiter [or terror] on the borders." The device is NOH-SUPHIS wearing the whole *shent*, and slaying an enemy whom he holds by the hair in the presence of Thoth. The hawk (the emblem of his great ancestor the sun), hovers over him.

The facts that SUPHIS and NOH-SUPHIS were co-regent during their lives, and that, after death, both were buried and worshipped in the Great Pyramid, are very satisfactorily proved by these monumental indications. Their great importance to the chronology of this history will presently appear.

The monumental notices of the reign of NOH-SUPHIS scarcely amount to history. His co-regency with his brother, and his defence of the Sinaitic frontier against the desert tribes, where, possibly he superintended the quarrying of the granite for the pyramid, while his brother oversaw the building at Ghizeh, are the facts already deduced. He is, moreover, commemorated as the reclaimer of two portions of land situated in Upper and Lower Egypt (which, as we have explained, were, in these remote times, the western and eastern banks of the Nile), in the tomb of *Eimei*, numbered 16 in the ground plot of Lepsius, which is close to the Great Pyramid.

NOH-SUPHIS was buried in the Great Pyramid, but it does not appear that he was made a god after his death. This honour was conferred on his brother only.

From the canon of Eratosthenes, we learn that the reign of SUPHIS lasted for 29, and that of SEN-SUPHIS 27 years. We believe these dates to be entitled to confidence.

In the list of the 4th dynasty, SOUPHIS I. reigned for 63 years, and SOUPHIS II, 66 years. These dates seem to be the terms of their individual reigns. They were certainly co-regent for many years. SUPHIS may have reigned for 29 years when he made his brother co-regent with him. They then reigned jointly for 27 years, when SUPHIS died, and NOH-SUPHIS reigned alone, or more probably with some other co-regent, for 10 years.

The successor of NOH-SUPHIS is named MENCHERES in the lists of Manetho, and MOSCHERES, which is doubtless a corruption of MENCHERES, in the canon of Eratosthenes. It is clear, from the monuments, that this entry is a mistake. The names of many other monarchs are interposed by them between NOH-SUPHIS and MENCHERES. This indication combines with the recurrence of this last name, as the seventh monarch of the 5th dynasty, to raise the suspicion that it has been inserted in the lists of the 4th, for some purpose very different from that of relating a true history. This purpose sufficiently appears when we compare the entry with the history of the same period in the pages of Herodotus. He tells us that

MENCHERES, or MYCHERINUS, as he writes his name, the builder of the third pyramid, was the son of CHEOPS, and immediately succeeded his uncle CEPHRENES, the builder of the second pyramid.* This is utterly incredible. It could not be that three such constructions should be built by three kings in immediate succession. This is so obvious that we are quite prepared to find it contradicted by the cotemporary monuments; and perceive at once the imposition which had been practised upon the father of history by his unprincipled guides and informants in Egypt.

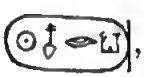
But it was not thus that Herodotus was read in the days of Eratosthenes and Manetho. Such was his reputation then, that to have stated a truth, however undeniable, which contradicted one of his declarations, would have exposed the writings of these chronologers to hurricanes of furious and abusive opposition from their cotemporaries. Therefore it is, we conceive, that both have inserted a MENCHERES in their lists, as the successor of the second SUPHIS, without expunging his name from the place in them to which (as the monuments satisfactorily show) it really belongs.

The successors of SUPHIS must now be considered.

There are two tombs† in the close vicinity of the great pyramid at Ghizeh, both of which have been constructed during the life-time of a monarch whose name Bunsen writes ASESKEF.* This fact is very clearly stated in the writings that cover the tomb.

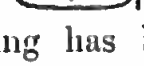
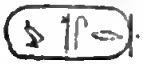
* L. ii. c., 129, and 134.

† No. 15, 16. ‡ Altes Reich, pl. 1.

The names of two generations of the family of royal princes that constructed them both were  *ases-kef-enh*, "the living Ases-kef." Other circumstances in both tombs confirm this indication, if confirmation be wanted; but we shall find that this mode of compounding the name of the reigning Pharaoh into the proper appellative of their children was very common among the princes of this remote epoch. The personages interred in these magnificent vaults exercised the priestly function in the temples of four deceased monarchs. These were SORIS, SUPHIS, and two other Pharaohs. The name of the first of them is , the reading of which has been very satisfactorily identified. It occurred to the author of the present work, while copying it from the tomb now under consideration at Ghizeh. He was not then aware that it had before occurred to Dr. Lepsius, and that, upon his authority, it had been inserted with this interpretation, in the list of kings published by Bunsen.* It reads, *nfr-iri-ka-ra*, i.e., "the doer of good works, body [impersonation] of the sun." The Greek transcription of this name is Νεφερχερης. He is the first of the three kings whose names, as we have already explained,† are entered both at the end of the 2nd and 4th dynasties. Its occurrence here and elsewhere among the successors of SUPHIS seems clearly

* Ægypt. St., vol. ii. † Above, p. 250.

to decide that the mistake consisted in placing him in the 2nd dynasty.*

The other unknown name Bunsen writes RA(N)-SESER, and makes the last monarch of his 3rd dynasty. There is, however, a variation of this name, which decides at once against the correctness of this mode of writing it. For , which is the ordinary reading, the following has been substituted in several tombs, both at Ghizeh and Sakkarah:— . The ordinary phonetic (the quail, *u*) has been prefixed to the initial (a sceptre with the head of a jackal), for the purpose of indicating its pronunciation, according to a rule of the system already explained.† The group therefore reads, not *Seser*, but *User*, as Champollion rightly decided. With equal felicity the same author also arrived at its meaning. Horapollo had pointed out that the black dog, or jackal, was the symbol of vigilance. The Coptic appellative for this creature is ⲟⲩⲱϣⲓ. It was from these data that Champollion assumed the entire group to read, *usr*, and to mean "watchful," "vigilant." He did not, however, perceive the word that it represented, in the Coptic transcription of this ancient language. The *r* is the transitive pre-formant of the Coptic grammar (ⲣ). The word is perfectly reproduced in the Coptic verb ⲣⲏⲥ, "to watch," "to guard." The root, without the pre-formant ⲣ, appears in the same language in the very common

* This fact also occurred to Dr. Lepsius during his visit to Egypt.

† Above, pp. 41, 42, &c.

word, 𓂝𓇋𓇋, "see!" "look out!" "behold!" The importance of this minute criticism to the identification of several royal names, must be our apology for it. The name of this king has been *Userra*, or *Userchre*,* i. e., "Pharaoh the vigilant."

We have explained that the arrangement of the names in these tables of kings, makes it apparent that NEPHERCHERES and *Userchre* reigned after SORIS and SUPHIS, and that *Ases-kef* was the successor of three, if not of the whole of them. The equivalents, therefore, in the lists, of these last three names, NEPHERCHERES, *Userchre*, and *Ases-kef*, must be sought for among the immediate successors of SUPHIS, who was the second or third king of the 4th dynasty.

The names of his successors in the same dynasty, are in inextricable confusion. NEPHERCHERES, SESOCHRIS, and CHENERES, stand in some manuscripts the three last monarchs of the 4th dynasty, as well as the three last monarchs of the 2nd. We have already explained that this was merely a double entry by mistake; that it was a mistake also to leave them in the 2nd dynasty; and that the right place of these three kings in the lists is among the successors of SUPHIS, at the end of the 4th dynasty. It is plain that NEPHERCHERES is the *nfr-iri-ka-re* who appears in these tombs as one of the Pharaohs who reigned after SUPHIS. There is also sufficient resemblance between SESOCHRIS, the name of another of the three removed kings, and that which

* The name of "the sun," 𓇳𓂋, was transcribed in Greek letters, both $\beta\alpha$, and $\chi\rho\alpha$.

Bunsen reads *Ases-kef*, to justify our closer comparison of them.

An historical note is appended to the name of SESOCHRIS, wherein it is said of him that he was 5 cubits 3 palms (*i.e.*, 8 ft. 5 in.) high. The first group in the name *Ases-kef*  is a colossal figure followed by *ss*. It reads *ases* which is equivalent to the Coptic word ac, "ancient," "noble," "magnificent,"* and was, doubtless, originally the common appellative of a colossus. The remaining group reads *kaf*, and represents exactly the Coptic word kaq "body," "trunk of a tree;" so that the name means "colossal in person," and therefore is evidently that of the gigantic king named SESOCHRIS in the lists. In this Greek transcription, the last group of the name is written χρι. It has therefore been pronounced *kru*, which corresponds with another Coptic word kpor, "form," "stature."† In the *Ases-kef*, therefore, of Bunsen, we discover the SESOCHRIS of the lists, and in conformity with the indications of the monuments, we restore him with NEPHERCHERES to the place he formerly occupied at the end of the 4th dynasty.

Sesoehren, or as the Greeks would probably write it,

* Alphabet, No. 9.

† The two words kaq and kpor are certainly from the same root; probably enough they are both the same word. The first character (the uplifted arms) is often accompanied by "the mouth," *r*, in the hieratic texts (see Alphabet, No. 59). These supplementary letters are likewise habitually understood without being expressed. So that in this group the uplifted arms may have always been read *kr*.



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TOMB OF EIMEI.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE III" NAPOLI

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Sesochrenes, was one of the royal princes of Egypt in the days of SESOCHRIS. His tomb (to which we have already made reference as that marked 16 by Lepsius), contains, among other decorations, a picture of himself as head of the family, seated at table, and waited upon by his sons, the name of each of them being inscribed over their respective portraits. The tomb No. 15, which immediately adjoins it, is that of the eldest son of *Sesochrenes*, whose name was *Ptah-nfr-baiu*, i. e., "Ptah of the good spirits," or *Agathodemon*, as the Greeks wrote this epithet of the god of Memphis. By far the largest part of this magnificent tomb was pulled down by Dr. Lepsius, for the purpose of removing the painted slabs that compose its inner walls. They are now in the royal museum at Berlin. Two of the younger brothers of Agathodemon (the one named after his father *Sesochrenes*, the other *Eimei*) died before him, and were interred in the vault which he was preparing for himself. That they did so, appears from the circumstance, that the decorations relating to the younger brothers are finished with colours, whereas, of those relating to Agathodemon the founder of the tomb, the titles only inscribed on the friezes of the chambers are complete. In other places the hieroglyphics and pictures are merely put in in outline (*see Plate*), the unerring indication that they were not finished at the time of the decease of all the personages for whom the tomb was designed, and by consequence that Agathodemon was the survivor of his two brothers for some years. The office of priest to the god-kings was common to the whole of the members

of this great family, and it appears from other tombs that such was the universal custom. Eimei and the younger Sesochrenes, both of whom died early, were priests to SUPHIS, SORIS, and NEPHERCHERES only, while the surviving and eldest brother Agathodemon ministered in the worship of SUPHIS, SORIS, NEPHERCHERES, and *Userchre*. We submit this indication as affording a highly probable ground for the assumption that the death and apotheosis of the last named monarch took place after the decease of the younger brothers, and in the interval of the survivorship of Agathodemon.

The lists entirely confirm this view of the question. *Userchre* with them we shall find to be of the 5th dynasty. NEPHERCHERES and SESOCHRIS, therefore, were the two successors of SUPHIS that completed the 4th dynasty, if the history of it is to be written from the records of their cotemporary monuments.

Their histories (so far as we know them) are soon narrated. According to the lists the Nile flowed with honey for eleven days during the reign of NEPHERCHERES. Two tracts of land were reclaimed by him in the vicinity of Sakkarah, which is about ten miles from Ghizeh on the same range of low, desert, limestone hills. This fact is mentioned in the tomb of that cemetery numbered 15 by Lepsius.* At Ghizeh he is recorded to have built a palace before which stood two obelisks of red granite.† The name of NEPHERCHERES ("the doer of good works") seems

* Abt. 2, p. 47. † Tomb 95, Lepsius.

to have been suggested by an amiable and benevolent natural disposition which promised much in youth, and accomplished its promise in mature age. We should be inclined to infer from the tradition preserved in the lists, that the honey bee, still common in Egypt, had engaged his attention, and that he had thereby added considerably to the comforts of his people.

The single fact of his gigantic stature is all that remains of the memory of SESOCHRIS. That his reign was on the whole a prosperous one, and that he left behind him a memory unstained by any great acts of tyranny or injustice, we infer from the circumstance that his name follows those of SORIS and NEPHERCHERES in a list of kings mentioned with honour in the days of his successor MENCHERES, from which the names of SUPHIS and NOH-SUPHIS are omitted. The only other memorials of him known to exist, are those in the tombs of Sesochrenes and Agathodemon, to which we have already referred. In the former sepulchre a tract of land irrigated by him is commemorated.*

The yet unidentified king, *Userchre*, we shall find at the head of the following succession, and one of the marked men of our monumental history.

In concluding the 4th dynasty, it will be needful to compare together the series of kings furnished by the monuments with the lists of Manetho, in order to obtain therefrom some clear notion of the amount of reliance really due to the latter.

* Abt. 2, bl. 50.

The two lists stand thus:—

	Manetho.		*Monuments.*
1	SORIS	1	
2	SUPHIS I.	2	
3	SUPHIS II.	3	
4	MENCHERES	4	
5	RATOISES.	5	
6	BICHERIS		
7	SEBERCHERES		
8	THAMPHTHIS.		

Nothing can be more satisfactory than the identification of the three first of these names in both catalogues. We have seen SORIS associated with SUPHIS, and SUPHIS with NOH-SUPHIS, on many monuments. In the case of the former two monarchs, we might have referred to many more. Of the name MENCHERES we have likewise disposed. It is a Greek insertion, to uphold the credit of Herodotus. RATOISES, the 5th of the Greek list, may have been another king of this dynasty. It occurs, in a tomb of this epoch at Sakkarah, as the name of a private individual: 

ra-ases, "handsome and tall." No other monumental memorial of him is known. We do not, therefore, venture to insert him in the list on such slender

authority. We have also explained that the three kings, made the last of the 2nd dynasty in the lists edited by Bunsen and others, have, in many manuscripts, a second entry at the end of the 4th. To this place the monuments show two of them to belong. We have, therefore, restored them to it in our hieroglyphic list. The last of them, CHENERES, has not been identified.

Of the three remaining names in the Greek list, 6 BICHERIS, 7 SEBERCHERES, 8 THAMPHTHIS, we strongly suspect that the two first are corrupt repetitions of SESOCHRIS and NEPHERCHERES; and that THAMPHTHIS is the blundering transcription of some Greek or Egyptian explanatory word, and not a king at all. It would perfectly accord with the literary exploits of the later times of the Alexandrian school, if some critic, in collating two or more copies of the lists of Manetho, and finding one of them so hopelessly corrupted, or so vilely written, that he could not read it, should at once have assumed the names there to be new kings, and insert what he could make out of the letters that compose them in his own copy, adding below their re-transcription from a better text. We believe this to be the origin of the name SEBERCHERES. It is an attempt to transcribe NEPHERCHERES from an ill-written copy of the lists.* In like manner BICHERIS may be the corruption of another mode of transcribing into Greek characters the name SESOCHRIS.

Upon the authority of the monuments, therefore,

* Lepsius is also of this opinion.—*Bunsen Egyp. Stell.*, vol. ii.

the 4th dynasty of Manetho consisted of five, or possibly six, monarchs only. Other kings there assuredly may have been; but they have left behind them no memorial whatever, though the remains of their cotemporaries are neither few nor scanty. While, on the other hand, if we turn to the lists in search of these vanished potentates, nothing can be more unsatisfactory or shadowy than the proofs of their existence which we find there.

The duration of this dynasty is the point which now remains for us to consider. We take the authority of the lists where we have no means of checking it.

Soris	29 years	Nephercheres	25 years
Suphis Sen-Suphis	66 years	Sesochris	48 years.

This gives 168 years as the proximate duration of the epoch of Suphis, and the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh. We must, however, warn our readers, that if we are right in assuming that the 4th dynasty consisted of five or six kings only, which is the monumental account of it, our computation will probably err in excess. There can hardly be a doubt that others of these kings were also co-regent as well as Suphis and Noh-Suphis. Yet even this is a reduction sufficiently ample from the 448 years during which the 4th dynasty reigned on the throne of Egypt, according to the summation of the lists of Manetho.

DYNASTY V.

Our readers are, we trust, by this time prepared rightly to appreciate the amount of historical authority to which the lists of Manetho, our only guide to the history of ancient Egypt, are entitled. We have found in them a substratum of fact (this is sufficiently apparent), but overlaid everywhere with error; and to such an extent, that we can scarcely in a single point so disencumber the concealed truth as to adopt their teaching with safety and confidence. One of the main causes of these errors, we find, by many instances, to arise out of an endeavour, at the expense of historical verity, to magnify the antiquity of Egypt. It is important, in our progress along a way so dark and difficult, with a guide so little to be trusted, thus heedfully to consider the direction in which he is likely to mislead us.

These remarks are suggested by the discussion into which the title prefixed to the 5th dynasty compels us to enter. It is said to be composed of 16 or 31 kings (the numbers vary thus in different copies), of a family which came from the island of Elephantine. This locality is more than six hundred miles from Memphis, the native place of the kings of the preceding family. It is close to the southern limits of Upper Egypt. The extreme difficulty suggested by this consideration seems to have occurred hitherto to none of those who have given their attention to the subject. Bunsen, and even Lepsius, assent to the Elephantinean origin of the 5th dynasty without a

struggle; yet, from the pages of the latter, we have extracted a passage,* which throws this statement into the category of the highest improbability. We have found it recorded there, that the ruins in the valley of the Nile, in their great masses, present a graduated chronological scale of the history of the ancient nation which constructed them. Ghizeh, with its vicinity, is the site of the oldest cotemporary monuments of Egypt. Southward from thence, they become more modern in an almost regular gradation; and, save the casual notice of some conqueror, all traces of the old kingdom have vanished long before the inquiry has reached the island of Elephantine. What, then, more utterly improbable, than that this rock in the Nile should have sustained a city capable of giving a dynasty of kings to Egypt, when the pyramids of Ghizeh were yet unfinished?

This consideration alone casts a deep shade of doubt upon the title before us, and suggests that some similar motive may have been at work in prompting so suspicious a statement. We have already mentioned the interest taken in the wonders of Egypt by the Greeks in the days of Manetho. The monuments themselves, as well as the historians of the epoch, bear testimony to this:—The statue of Memnon at Thebes, covered with Greek inscriptions chiselled by visitors of rank, and the votive tablets and memorials in Greek that abound at Djebel Silsili, Philæ, and other localities in Upper Egypt, perfectly confirm the accounts of the

* Above, p. 211.

historians. In the days of the Ptolemies and Emperors, the number of strangers visiting Egypt in search of pleasurable excitement was probably greater than even at the present day, when twenty or more cangias, or Nile-boats, may be seen at anchor every winter before the ruins of Luxor, with the flags of all the nations of Europe flying at the booms of their lateen sails. The prevalence of this taste for travelling in Egypt would originate at Alexandria a prestige in favour of Elephantine and other distant localities, of which Manetho would not be deterred by any scruples regarding historical accuracy from taking the utmost advantage.

With this consideration in view, we turn to the hieroglyphic name of the island of Elephantine.  It reads *abōt*, which contains the sounds of the word for "ivory" in ancient Egyptian. In this approximation has originated the Greek transmutation of it into Elephantine.* But the group strongly resembles in form, and is the same in sound, as the name of another ancient city,  *abōt*, that is, "Abydos," in the southern border of Middle Egypt. Its ruins are situated on the edge of the western desert, ten miles away from the river. Sixty years ago they were amongst the most considerable in Egypt. They will still repay the fatigue of a journey thither. Abydos is familiar to the mythology of a somewhat later period than the one before us, as the burial place

* ἐλέφαντος, "ivory." Herodotus writes the name of Elephantine Ἐλεφαντίνη, lib. ii. c. 140.

of *Osiris*, or *Mizraim*. It was of the equivocque between these two proper names, that Manetho took advantage in translating the hieroglyphic records of the kings of Egypt to add another exciting marvel to his history. We may hereafter have the opportunity of showing that the resemblance is by no means accidental, and that both are derivatives from the same root, having the same meaning, as well as the same sound. It is not, therefore to be doubted that Abydos, and not Elephantine, was the capital of Egypt in the times of the 5th dynasty.

The list itself of this dynasty is in about the state in which (after this detection) we might expect to find it. According to one copy (that of Eusebius), it consisted of 31 kings. Two names only, however, appear in this copy, and they not belonging to the dynasty at all. The other copy (that of Africanus) makes it consist of eight kings, and gives nine names. In the midst of confusion like this, the erasure of the third and fourth of them, NEPHERCHERES and SISERIS, which are palpable repetitions of the NEPHERCHERES and SESOCHRIS of the former dynasty, becomes an absolute relief to the mind in attempting to unravel the difficulty. The monuments, moreover, as we shall find, so clearly demand this erasure that we feel no hesitation in making it. We give the names and dates as they appear in this most doubtful of all conceivable guides; but, we forewarn our readers, it is not in the nature of things possible that its evidence can be allowed to have any weight against that of cotemporary monuments, of which, happily,

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we are by no means altogether deprived, in respect of the 5th dynasty.

1	USERCHERES		reigned 28	years.
2	SEPHRES		„ 13	„
—	NEPHERCHERES	*erased.*		
—	SISERIS			
3	CHERES		„ 20	„
4	RATHOURES		„ 44	„
5	MENCHERES		„ 9	„
6	TATCHERES		„ 44	„
7	ONNOS		„ 33	„
			191	

The name of the head of this dynasty, USERCHERES,* we at once recognize to be the *Userchre* of the monuments of his epoch. The circumstances under which the change took place which made Abydos the capital of Egypt, instead of Memphis, in his days, and placed him at the head of a new race of kings, will presently appear; when we shall find how strongly, in this particular, our correction of the lists is supported by the evidence of the monuments.

The following are the known coeval remains of the reign of USERCHERES.

It has been supposed that the middle pyramid of Abousir was built by USERCHERES. This is, however, somewhat doubtful. The quarry-mark in red lead upon one of the blocks in the vault, which has given rise

* This name is written on different monuments with many variations, principally homophonic.

to the conjecture, appears rather to indicate that it was the work of one of his successors, and that the blocks used for it had been originally quarried for a palace designed by USERCHERES. The pyramid, nevertheless, of USERCHERES, is mentioned in more than one of the tombs of Ghizeh; and the one in which his name has been written is a noble structure, well worthy of the head of a dynasty. It may certainly be his, though we feel it important to explain that the evidence is not conclusive.

The ruined tomb at Ghizeh, numbered 96 in the ground-plot of Lepsius, belongs to the reign of USERCHERES. The name and title of the excavator of it were *stn-hik-menei*, i.e., "royal governor, MENES." The introduction of the name of the proto-monarch here we have already noticed.* The infant son of this prince was named *Usercher-enh*, "the living Usercheres;" so that clearly he was born in the life-time of this monarch.

We have likewise seen that some portions of the tomb of Sesochrenes, in the same cemetery (No. 15, Lepsius), were executed during the life of USERCHERES.

An alabaster vase was found in one of the tombs of Ghizeh, having on it the inscription, "King USERCHERES living for ever."

We conclude our (comparatively) by no means meagre list of the cotemporary memorials of USERCHERES, with one which, in interest or importance, yields to none of those we have already cited. The tomb of the prince *Ra-eses*, at Sakkarah, whose name

* Above, p. 228.

we have already identified with that of the Pharaoh RATOISES of the lists, is of very beautiful execution. The interesting details of its reliefs will require our attention when the state of society in Egypt at this era of the monarchy is before us. If our conjecture, that Ra-eses took his name from the king named RATOISES in the lists, is correct, this last must have been some obscure viceroy or co-regent with SESOCHRIS, or USERCHERES, whose name is possibly enough repeated among the kings of the 5th dynasty under the modification of RATHOURES. The name of the infant son of the prince Ra-eses was *Enter-userchre*, "the divine [deified] USERCHERES." It would appear from hence that the death of USERCHERES took place at a time closely corresponding with the birth of this child, and that the ceremony of his apotheosis was proceeding when it was named.

One other monument seems to bring us close to the times of USERCHERES. It is the tomb, at Sakkarah,* of a prince of Egypt, whose name was *Pheh-nu-ka.*† He exercised, amongst other functions, that of priest, or purifier, to USERCHERES and his pyramid. The execution of this tomb also is nearly equal to that of Ra-eses.

These remains of the reign of USERCHERES declare him to have been a monarch highly distinguished among the kings of Egypt. They, therefore, render probable his place in the lists of Manetho, as the head

* No. 15, Lepsius, Abt. 2, bl. 45—48.

† "He who flees from adultery." This was the name which was afterwards given to Joseph, the patriarch, by Pharaoh APAPPUS, פענח *Paaneah* (Gen. xli. 45).

of the 5th dynasty. The posthumous memorials of him bear out the indication, and also show that he has been rightly placed in the lists, so far as such a point can be shown on their evidence.

In the tomb of Sesochrenes (15, Ghizeh), SORIS, the founder of the 4th dynasty, is invariably associated with USERCHERES, the founder of the 5th dynasty. In the same cemetery, in the tomb of RA-PHUT, who was the cotemporary of SEPHRES (89, Lepsius),* SORIS and USERCHERES are associated in precisely the same manner. In both tombs all the other monarchs mentioned are placed after them. This honorary distinction receives a satisfactory explanation from Manetho's account that they were both heads of dynasties.

In dealing with the question of the successor of USERCHERES, we must remind our readers that the utter recklessness with which names have been written in the lists, and the hopeless confusion into which many careless and ignorant transcriptions have thrown them, leave no other possible course than that of making the indications of the monuments, and not of the lists, our guides in endeavouring to ascertain the succession of the kings of the 5th dynasty.

We return to the remains of the tomb of Ra-eses at Sakkarah, whose infant son was born (as his name declares) very near the time of the death of USERCHERES. This prince exercised several high functions under TATCHERES, whose name also appears in the list of the 5th dynasty; but it is separated from that of

* See this succession, *infra*, p. 306.

USERCHERES by five or seven successions. The indication afforded by this tomb that TATCHERES  was the immediate successor of USERCHERES, and not his remote descendant, are, nevertheless, very strong. One of the functions exercised by *Ra-eses* was that of "superintendent of all the royal constructions:" : and he is represented in the act of exercising this superintendence. Files of workmen are passing before him, bearing planks and poles for scaffolding, and other building materials. Immediately behind him are eight rows or tiers of slaves, each above the other (but who are all really on the same level), stretched upon the earth, perfectly naked, and engaged in preparing the plaster or cement, which served as the ground, for painting on the walls, by rubbing it with their hands. The position and appearance of these unhappy persons show them at once to be slaves, possibly prisoners of war. The mode in which they were compelled to work is most significantly conveyed by the picture. One individual from each row is led forth by the overlooker, and about to be laid down and beaten. It is highly probable that the man in these gangs whose work was, after certain intervals, found to be inferior, either in quality or quantity, to that of his fellow-slaves, was always beaten. Further than this, the exercise of tyrannical power can scarcely be carried by man or devil.* The inscriptions over the four upper rows of slaves tell us that they are the makers of

* See this design, ch. viii.

cement for the palace of USERCHERES. The four lower rows are said to be making the same material for the palace of TATCHERES. We reasonably infer from hence that the palace begun by USERCHERES was completed by his successor, TATCHERES.* That Ra-eses was a courtier of this king's there cannot be a doubt. He was librarian to TATCHERES, and had the charge of his great cattle.

Against evidence like this, the mere collocation of names in a list in such confusion as we have found in Manetho's 5th dynasty, cannot be allowed any weight whatever. We, therefore, at once assume that TATCHERES was co-regent with, and successor of, USERCHERES. From other monuments we shall be able to collect other indications which will clearly demonstrate that we are making no mistake in doing so.

The monumental remains of the reign of TATCHERES are by no means so numerous as those of his predecessor. Like the kings of the former dynasty he has inscribed his name on the rocks of the Wady Meghara (*see Plate*, No. 1). It was mainly for the sake of the quarries and mines in the vicinity that this utter desert seems to have been valued in these remote times.

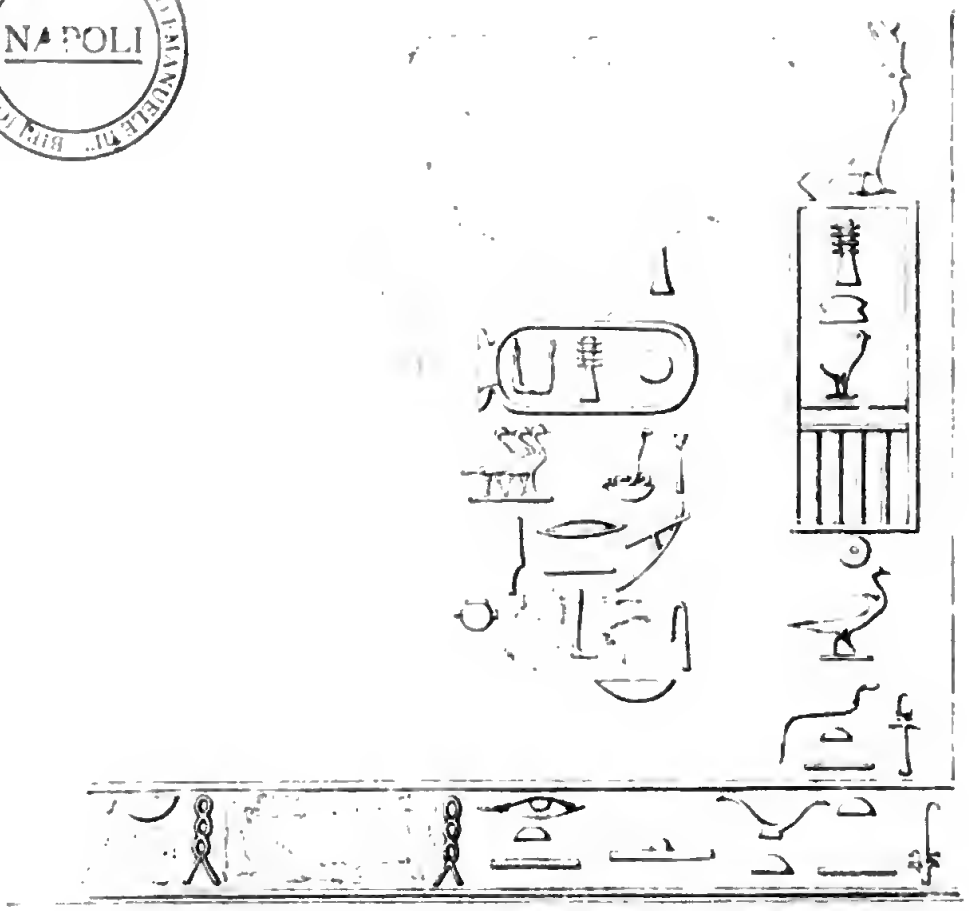
The name of TATCHERES was also copied by Rosellini from a tomb at Sakkarah in 1828.† It was apparently in connection with that of king ACHES of the 3rd dynasty. I sought, however, in vain for any trace of it in that cemetery. It now appears that the tomb

* Every successive Pharaoh, or co-regency, seems to have built a palace. USERCHERES and TATCHERES were for some years co-regents. The relief before us makes this certain.

† Mon. stor., vol. i., p. 140.

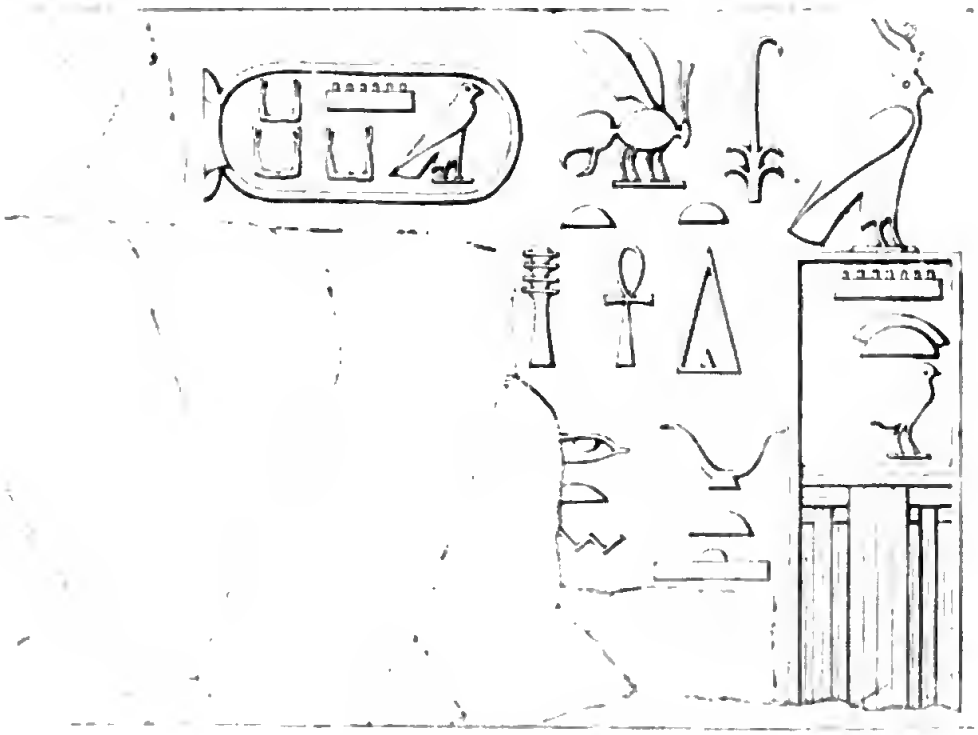
BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE III"
NAPOLI

1.



TABLET OF KING TATCHERES.

2.



TABLET OF KING MENCHERES.

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was utterly ruined, and that the last slab was removed to Berlin by Dr. Lepsius. It is not the name of *Akes*, but of *Asses*, of the 16th dynasty, that is there associated with Tatcheres.*

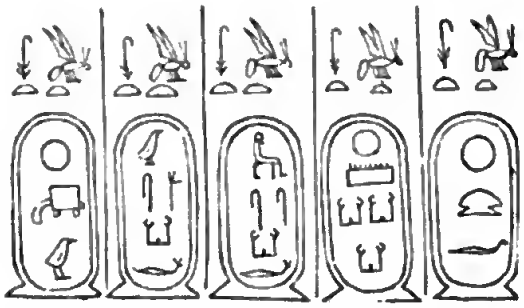
The question of the successor to TATCHERES is very obscure, though his standard, which occurs at the Wady Meghara, may afford us a useful hint for its elucidation.

The lists, as we have seen, fail us altogether upon this point, and no tomb or other monument has yet been discovered on which the names of TATCHERES and his successor have been found associated. We shall have it, nevertheless, in our power to indicate his successor with considerable probability. It is one of those names which, being noted in the Greek tradition as that of a famous king of Egypt, prove to have enjoyed a corresponding monumental reputation. We have already stated our conviction that the SEPHRES of the lists is the SHEFRA of the monuments, and the CHEPHRENES of Herodotus, the builder of the second pyramid. He stands second in Manetho's list of the present dynasty. His place there was probably regulated by his posthumous fame rather than by its actual occurrence in the succession of the dynasty.

The fact that SEPHRES belonged to the 5th dynasty, the monuments happily place out of doubt. We copy the following succession of kings from the ruins of a tomb at Ghizeh, numbered 89 in the ground-plot of Lepsius, to which we have already referred.† The

* Lepsius, Abt. ii., bl. 67. ASSES completed the pyramid of TATCHERES, intending himself also to be buried in it. See vol. ii.

† Above, pp. 278, 302.



name we read SEPHRES stands first among the monarchs of his line who had conferred titles of honour upon the family, in whose tomb this list is inscribed. He is followed by a king named *mn-ku-re*, the MENCHERES of the lists: a name equally celebrated in the annals of Egypt with that of SEPHRES (or CHEPHRENES).

We submit that the succession before us completes the refutation of the story of Herodotus that the builders of the first and second pyramids were brothers and successors, and that the constructor of the third pyramid was the son of the former; circumstances in themselves sufficiently improbable.*

The evidence from the monuments that SEPHRES really was the builder of the second pyramid is at least as satisfactory as any that we have yet been able to gather from these most certain of all records of past times. There is a tomb at Ghizeh hewn in the declivity to the eastward of the rock on which stands the Great Pyramid.† It is well known to the many European passengers by the overland route who visit Ghizeh, as "the tomb of numbers;" because the numbers of the great cattle, the goats, and the asses, belonging to the prince by whom it was excavated, are very conspicuously engraven over the reliefs that represent

* Herod. lib. ii., cc. 127, 129. † No. 75, ground-plot.

them. The name of this prince was  *shef-ra-enh*, i.e., "the living SEPHRES." This name shows its possessor to have been the cotemporary of SEPHRES. Amongst other functions exercised by this prince, whose name was afterwards hellenized into Chephrenes, was that of ; *i.e.*, "constructor of the great enclosure of the Little Pyramid of SEPHRES," who is, moreover, invariably entitled, "SEPHRES of the Little Pyramid." The same epithet is applied to SEPHRES in the tomb of the prince *Teta*, a few slabs from which are happily preserved in the British Museum. This tomb was demolished about twenty years ago by the removal of the fragments of it which are now in England. It was in the immediate vicinity of the one from which we have just made extracts. *Teta* was priest to the second pyramid. We infer from this very plain indication, that SEPHRES was the builder of the second pyramid of Ghizeh, and that the third pyramid was not built at the time of its completion. Had such been the case, it could not be that the epithet *little* should be made the designation of a pile like the second pyramid, while a structure scarcely one tenth of its bulk stood in its immediate vicinity.*

* The sparrow, which symbolizes littleness, has been mistaken for the pigeon, which has been assumed to denote greatness. Nothing, however, can be clearer or more decided than the delineation of the sparrow in the tomb of the prince Chephrenes. (See the beautiful copies of it by Joseph Bonomi, published in Lepsius, Abt. 2, bl. 8 to 10. See also the names of the Pyramids, *infra*, vol. ii.).

The history of SEPHRES, or CHEPHRENES, is soon given from the pages of Herodotus. He was the brother of CHEOPS, or SUPHIS; he shared in his infamy, and reigned 52 years. We have already explained that all these particulars really belonged to NOH-SUPHIS. The monumental history of Sephres is of a very different character. The tombs of his era are conspicuous, even among the exquisite specimens of ancient art by which they are surrounded, for the spirit and beauty of their execution. A new mode of working the reliefs and hieroglyphics is first observable on the monuments of his epoch. In the tombs of the preceding age, all the sculptures stand out in relief from the polished surface of the slab, but in those of the age of SEPHRES they are wrought after the manner called *cavo relievo;* that is, the reliefs are in hollows below the surface. This is the case with the remains of the tomb of Teta in the British Museum. It, however, belongs to the times which succeeded those of SEPHRES, and is, in execution, very inferior to the sepulchre of the prince Chephrenes. Having particularly dwelt upon this point while at Ghizeh, I am able to state positively that the mode of sculpture in *cavo relievo* was first invented in the times of SEPHRES, and seems thence to have become universal throughout Egypt, and at all subsequent periods. The older mode of relief was from that time only occasionally resorted to, and for monuments of the most exquisite and delicate finish.

The stupendous pile of the second pyramid could only have been named *little* by its founder, through a piece of delicate flattery to the memory of his

predecessor, SUPHIS. Its dimensions nearly approach everywhere, and in absolute height surpass, those of the Great Pyramid.* The huge square trough, or coffer, in which its base stands, has been, in all probability, the quarry whence the blocks for the pyramid of SUPHIS were taken. The upper portion of the second pyramid is still covered with plaster. The lower portion, like the casing of the Great Pyramid, has been torn away long ago. If any judgment can be formed of what it consisted, from the *debris* which Belzoni removed from the coffer in 1819, it was of granite, of a rich vermilion tint, superior both in hue and texture to any hard stone with which we are now acquainted.† Fragments of this beautiful material are very abundant in the vicinity of the second pyramid. It occurred to us on the spot that the lower portions of the pyramid had been cased with this granite, and that the upper part was covered with plaster, painted in imitation of it; the tint still partially remains on the plaster. A steep incline and vault have been hewn in this pyramid after its completion; but they have a very rough unfinished appearance, and the whole of this aperture has the appearance of an after-thought of some succeeding age. We believe that the sepulchre of SEPHRES is as yet undiscovered.

If we are to judge of the state of Egypt in the times

* Above, p. 279.

† In the times of Herodotus, the casing still remained on the lowest tier. It was "of Ethiopic stone [granite] of many colours;" λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου (ii. 127). This was exactly my conjecture regarding it.

of SEPHRES from the monuments of it which still remain, it must have been one of unexampled prosperity. The number of plots of land called by his name, and therefore reclaimed from the wilderness by his engineering operations, recorded in the tombs of his princes, very far surpass those of any monarch, his predecessor. Sixteen tracts of land are still legible in the mutilated tomb of the royal prince *Ra-en-ku*,* and eighteen in the yet more grievously demolished one of *Ra-phut*, whence we have copied the very remarkable table of succession, which enables us to determine the place of SEPHRES in this dynasty.† Mention is likewise made in both these tombs, as well as in that of *Teta*, of the  *Sephræum*, or palace of SEPHRES. The two former tombs also commemorate  "the land devoted to the library of SEPHRES." These indications speak very plainly of peace, prosperity, and progress in Egypt. The superiority also in artistic skill of the monuments of the time of SEPHRES, speak with equal plainness of some considerable period of peace and prosperity having elapsed when his reign commenced.

Such was the respect in which the memory of SEPHRES was held by the line of kings of Egypt in which the traditions and religion of his epoch were perpetuated, that some centuries after his times a dynasty of Pharaohs adopted him as their tutelary god, and made their royal names compounds of his. They stand

* The tomb numbered 87, Lepsius. † 89 Lepsius, (above, p. 306.)

recorded in the two upper rows or planes facing the right of the Chamber of Karnak (G. *and* H. *of our diagram*, vol. ii). They have been very seldom found elsewhere, and only in the Delta. They were the Xoite kings who make the 14th dynasty of Manetho, though they really reigned in the Delta alone, and were the cotemporaries of the 18th and 19th dynasties.

The great Sphinx proves from the inscription on the tablet between its paws to have been the work of SEPHRES. It was intended for an emblematic portrait of the king. It also served as a decoration of the avenue of lions, which led to the gate of the precinct to his pyramid, as may be seen on the plan of Ghizeh (*above*, p. 254). The Sphinx (Z) stands in a direct line with the remains of the entrance to the precinct of the second pyramid (B). We need scarcely explain that this wonderful work is a rock hewn into the form of a lion crouching, with a man's head. Its dimensions can only be expressed by numbers. The lion-body is 117 feet long, the fore paws extend 50 feet from the chest, and from the ground between them to the crown of the head it is 51 feet high.

That SEPHRES was the son and successor of TATCHERES is rendered highly probable by the inscription on the standard of the latter king. It will be observed that the two last characters in it are the same in form and sound with the two last in the name of SEPHRES. This is a never failing mark of near kindred.



The successor of SEPHRES appears in the row of kings we have copied from the tomb

of Ra-phut (*above*, page 306), to have been the monarch named in the lists, MENCHERES. He is placed immediately after SEPHRES. Both kings were therefore living and co-regent when the tomb was constructed.

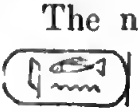
The royal name, MENCHERES, is also engraven on the lid of a wooden mummy-case, which was found by Col. H. Vyse in the chamber of the third pyramid of Ghizeh (C. *of the Plan*). This important discovery identifies him with the MYCHERINUS of Herodotus, the builder of that pyramid (c. ii., 134, 135), who is also said to have been the cotemporary of the builder of the second. Thus remarkably is the succession in the tomb of *Ra-phut* confirmed by the account of the Greek historian. It is further related concerning MYCHERINUS, or MENCHERES, that he was the son or the nephew of CHEPHRENES (i.e., *Sephres*). Of this fact, also, we have monumental evidence of a very satisfactory character in the tablet of MENCHERES (*Plate*, p. 304, No. 2), engraven on the rocks of the Wady Meghara, in the Sinaitic Peninsula.

On this tablet the hawk takes the place of the disc of the sun, which is the first character in the ordinary transcriptions of the name of MENCHERES. Samuel Birch has rightly explained that by this substitution (of which there are very few examples), it is generally signified that the personage who bears the name is not king, but prince and heir-apparent. The substitution has likewise another meaning in the name of MENCHERES, connected with his history. This will shortly engage our attention.

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The relationship of MENCHERES to TATCHERES and SEPHRES is further denoted by the device on his standard, which is also given in this tablet. The two last characters in it are the same as those on the standard of TATCHERES, and, as we have said, homophonic with the name of SEPHRES. Thus clearly does it appear that TATCHERES, SEPHRES, and MENCHERES, were three kings in succession.

The two remaining names in the list of the 5th dynasty, for which we have not yet found the hieroglyphic equivalents, are, 3 CHERES, and 7 ONNOS. The first of these Dr. Lepsius supposes he has discovered on a stone found at Abousir, and now in the Royal Museum of Berlin. The name of the god-king inscribed on it, , we believe with him to be that of CHERES, in the list of this dynasty. It was after the death of MENCHERES that he reigned at Memphis only.

The name of ONNOS we believe to be that written  *an*, in the Chamber of Karnak. It also occurs on the fragment of a statue which was one of a pair dedicated to him and USERCHERES II., of the 11th dynasty, by the son of AMENEMES. The history implied in these occurrences we must consider afterwards.

ONNOS named after himself two plots of land near Ghizeh. They are recorded in the tomb of one of the princes of ASSES, of the 16th dynasty.* ONNOS was apparently the lineal descendant of MENCHERES, and

* Lepsius.

reigned at Memphis long after his death. With him the line of the Memphite kings of the Great Pyramid seems to have terminated. He was the last of his race. This is, perhaps, the best ascertained fact that has been elicited regarding him. *Stat nominis umbra.*

These two monarchs really belong to the 6th dynasty of the lists.

We now compare with the list the result of our search on the monuments for the history of the 5th dynasty.

LIST OF FIFTH DYNASTY. *Manetho.* ELEPHANTINE.		LIST OF FIFTH DYNASTY. *Monuments.* ABYDOS.
	Years of Reign.	
1 USERCHERES	28	1 USERCHERES.
2 SEPHRES	13	2 TATCHERES.
NEPHERCHERES } SISERIS } Repetition by mistake from 4th dynasty.		3 SEPHRES.
3 CHERES	20	4 MENCHERES.
RATHURIS 4th dynasty, 44 years.		CHERES (*6th dynasty*).
4 MENCHERES	9	ONNOS (*6th dynasty*).
5 TATCHERES	44	
6 ONNOS	33	
	147	

The united reigns of the six kings that remain in the Greek list, when the several mistakes are corrected, amount to 147 years. Two of these again must be removed; for we find that CHERES and ONNOS were kings of the 6th, 7th, or 8th dynasty, who reigned at

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Memphis cotemporarily with the successors of MENCHERES (the 11th dynasty of the lists), in Upper Egypt. Their reigns amount together to 53 years. MENCHERES himself reigns here for nine years only: but against the former entry of his name in the 4th dynasty stand 63 years, which, it will be observed, exceed by but one year his reign in the 5th, added to those of CHERES and ONNOS. The history of this correspondence, though merely that of a blunder, is nevertheless far from unimportant. The monuments have shown us that these two kings belong to another dynasty, and, therefore, that their names stand here by mistake, probably of the first translator. Some careful Greek transcriber afterwards discovered that the sum at the foot of this 5th dynasty, taken also from the temple records, did not correspond with the addition of the numbers. On comparing the lists of the 4th and 5th dynasties together, he discovered the name of MENCHERES in both; and the same entry of 63 years doubtless stood against both names. The clear impossibility that two different monarchs of the same name should have both reigned exactly the same number of years, would very naturally suggest to him that here was the mistake. He therefore, as he supposed, set it right by deducting from the reign of the second MENCHERES the overplus of the addition above the sum of the reigns of the 5th dynasty, which was in reality the sum of the reigns of CHERES and ONNOS (with the odd days, which have been lost in our present copies), and which belonged to another dynasty.

Some valuable inferences are presented by this

detection of an ancient mistake. In the first place, it proves that the insertion of MENCHERES was a fraudulent entry made by the Greeks, as we had surmised. In the second place, it proves that this king actually reigned for 63 years. It shows, moreover, in the last place, and demonstrably, that CHERES and ONNOS do not really belong to this dynasty, as we had before inferred from the monuments.

Our finally amended list, therefore, of the 5th dynasty stands thus:—

	Years.	
1 USERCHERES	28	
2 TATCHERES	44	
3 SEPHRES	13	
4 MENCHERES	63	
	148	duration of 5th dynasty.
We add to this number ...	168	ditto of 4th ditto (*Above*, p. 294.)
and RATŒSES, or RAESES,* whom we have left unattached	25	
	341	duration of the 4th and 5th dynasties.
Interval between MENES and SORIS, estimated at (*above*, p. 261).	200	
	541	Interval between MENES and MENCHERES.

This number, however, is sure to err in excess, owing to the number of co-regencies, both on the same

* Rathuris in the 5th dynasty reigns 44 years, which is a mere repetition, by mistake, of the entry but one below.

throne and on rival thrones, which were constantly occurring in these remote times. In perfect confirmation of our surmise, we find this same interval between MENES and MENCHERES represented in the canon of Eratosthenes by 455 years only. Deducting from this sum the 334 years which the same canon gives for the interval between MENES and SORIS, we obtain 121 years only for the duration of the 4th and 5th dynasties —a result which leaves us absolutely no other alternative than the assumption that the latter was nearly cotemporary with the former, and that at this time two lines of independent Pharaohs reigned at Abydos and Memphis.

This enormous abatement from the numbers in the lists is made on no arbitrary grounds. It is imperatively required by the domestic histories of the princes of the epoch, which are written in their tombs at Ghizeh, and elsewhere in the cemetery of Memphis. No one of them has served for the burial-place of more than two descents from the founder. They differ remarkably herein from the tombs of Gournou and other cemeteries in Egypt, where six, ten, and even twenty succeeding heads of the same family were interred in the same vault. We state this fact, after taking much pains to ascertain it. We are not aware of one exception to it. Even in the tombs of the princes Sesochrenes and Raphut, the founders, their children, and their grandchildren only were buried, though both families were cotemporary with five Pharaohs. On the calculation of three descents in the century which was adopted in Egypt (*above*, p. 236),

the 121 years of the canon agree with this indication. If we approximate these dates to actual duration, taking two centuries for the lapse of time between the first settlement and the commencement of the 4th dynasty (*above*, p. 261), MENCHERES appears to have succeeded to the throne of Egypt about 258 years after the founding of Memphis, and to have reigned for 63 years.

This date for the accession of MENCHERES completes our proof that the 4th and 5th dynasties must have been nearly cotemporaneous. The intimate and immediate association of their two founders, SORIS and USERCHERES, which we have pointed out in so many tombs, strongly suggests the same fact. Another indication of it likewise appears a hundred miles higher up the river on the eastern bank, at a locality now called Isbayda,* or Shech Zaid,† where a tomb has been excavated by a prince who was steward of the land attached to the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh and priest to SUPHIS in it, and to the pyramid of USERCHERES. The site of this tomb is about half way between Memphis and Abydos. The same suggestion assuredly arises out of these circumstances. SUPHIS and USERCHERES were cotemporary kings reigning at Memphis and Abydos, in close alliance and friendship with each other. By this cotemporaneity we satisfactorily account, moreover, for the confusion of NU-SUPHIS with SEPHRES, in the Greek tradition. They seem to have been co-regent in their two kingdoms, and the second pyramid was begun before the first was

* Wilkinson, Modern Egypt, ii. 70.

† Lepsius, Altes Reich, Abt. ii., bl. 112.

finished; Memphis being at this time the burial-place of all the kings of Egypt. By the same circumstance we as satisfactorily account for the double entry of the name of MENCHERES. The time of his accession is correctly represented by the entry in the 4th dynasty. The order of his succession is denoted by that in the 5th. It was a mistake at first, whatever were the motives for its retention afterwards.

We are able, therefore, to state, upon good and sufficient grounds, that the 4th and 5th dynasties reigned together at Memphis and Abydos.

CHAPTER VI.

MENCHERES.—GREEK TRADITION.—THE THIRD PYRAMID.—OTHER COEVAL REMAINS.—REASON OF THE HONOURABLE DISTINCTION OF MENCHERES.—WORSHIP OF OSIRIS, OR MIZRAIM, INTRODUCED BY HIM.—LEGEND OF OSIRIS.—THE GOD OF THE DEAD.—HIS MURDER AND MUTILATION.—AVENGED BY HIS SON HORUS.—THIS TRADITION FOUNDED ON FACT.—THE BUSIRIDES, OR TOMBS OF OSIRIS.—ABYDOS.—DERIVATION OF THE NAME.—ITS TEMPLE AND WORSHIP FOUNDED BY MENCHERES.—DEIFICATION OF MENCHERES DURING HIS LIFE-TIME BY HIMSELF.—IDENTIFICATION WITH HORUS.—THE WAR FOR THE MEMBERS OF MIZRAIM.—ITS IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES.—CHANGE IN THE RELIGION OF EGYPT.—THE GODS OF OLD EGYPT.—THE REFORMED RELIGION OF MENCHERES.

MENCHERES was one of the *Evergetæ*, or "kings-benefactors" of Egypt. Such is the account of him in the Greek tradition. According to Herodotus, MYCHERINUS (so he writes his name) opened again the temples which CHEOPS his father had closed, restored the worship of the gods, permitted his people to return to their avocations, and ruled them so mildly and equitably, that he was more honoured than any of the ancient kings of Egypt.* Diodorus repeats the same story.† It does not, therefore, admit of a doubt

* Lib. ii. 129. † Lib. i. 63.

that this was the account of MENCHERES given to foreigners by the priests and guides who had the custody of the pyramids when these travellers visited Egypt. We are now, however, familiar with their way of narrating history. We, therefore, pause before receiving their story of MENCHERES, until we have compared it with the yet existing memorials of his reign, which will afford us better evidence.

The third pyramid of Ghizeh (C), the three small ones close by it (*d*, *e*, *f*),* and the tomb of prince Ra-phut in the cemetery adjacent (No. 89), are the only known coeval remains of the reign of MENCHERES. The prince Ashuf, also in the same cemetery, lived shortly after his decease, and was priest to his pyramid (No. 95). Neither in these tombs, nor in any other that has yet been discovered, do we find it recorded that a single plot of land was reclaimed from the desert by the works of MENCHERES, and named after him. In this particular his monumental fame contrasts unfavourably with nearly every other king of his epoch, especially with Cheops (SUPHIS) and Chephrenes (SEPHRES). The Greek tradition exactly reverses the picture, by extolling MENCHERES at the special expense of SUPHIS and SEPHRES. This circumstance alone justifies the caution with which we receive it.

The pyramid of MENCHERES (C),† is much smaller than either of those in its immediate vicinity.‡ The

* See Plan, p. 254. † Plan.

‡ By Col. Howard Vyse's measurement, its dimensions were, a square of 354 feet for the base, with a perpendicular height of 218 feet.

casing still remains on the lower part, extending from the base between thirty and forty feet towards the summit. It is composed of huge blocks of polished grey granite. This covering was never finished. It was in the same state when Herodotus,* Diodorus,† and Strabo,‡ visited Egypt. Diodorus explains the reason of this to have been that MENCHERES died before it was finished. Such was the custom in Egypt universally. The tomb, whether grotto or pyramid, was never completed, if the constructor died while it was in progress. The fact that the casing of the pyramid of MENCHERES has never been disturbed, and remains to this day in the state in which the Greek authors described it in their times, is highly important as an historical indication.

This pyramid was first opened by Col. Howard Vyse, about 15 years ago. We have already mentioned his discovery in the chamber, of a coffin inscribed with the name of MENCHERES.

The three small pyramids in the neighbourhood are also the work of MENCHERES (*d*, *e*, *f*, *Plan*). His name traced with minium, is the quarry-mark on the stones of which they were built. They are mentioned by the Greek historians, who inform us that they were designed for the family of MENCHERES. So far the quarry-marks confirm their narrative. The rest of their story is not history at all, but a profligate romance.

The precinct of the third pyramid is far less overlaid

* *Ubi supra.* † *Ubi supra.* ‡ Geog. lxvii., p. 586.

with rubbish than those of either of the other two pyramids of Ghizeh. That which is there is evidently of modern date, consisting of entire blocks of stone and granite. The remains of the outer wall are yet traceable. It was polygonal,* and built with the nummulite stone of which the hill is composed. Close to the eastern face of the pyramid are the ruins of a small temple, with a causeway leading from thence eastward, and traceable at a considerable distance beyond the enclosure.† It has been a mound or pier of fine masonry. The temple has been pulled down within a hundred years of the present time. The stones were used in building the country houses of the Mameluks in the adjacent village of Ghizeh.‡ The blocks, which have fallen, and were not wanted, still remain entire. The whole precinct contrasts very remarkably in this particular with those both of the pyramids of SUPHIS and SEPHRES, which were left by the ancients deeply imbedded in the fragments worked off from the slabs of granite torn from their casings, and (according to their universal practice) shaped anew on the spot. Whereas the dismantling of the pyramid of MENCHERES and its precinct is merely the work of modern barbarism or research. In this very singular contrast, it is impossible not to perceive the confirmation of the Greek tradition. The memories of SUPHIS and SEPHRES

* Constructed with unsquared fragments of stone.

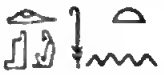
† See Plan, p. 254.

‡ Under their rule in Egypt, Ghizeh was the pleasure city of Cairo.

were execrable in ancient Egypt, and their pyramids were desecrated in after times, but the name of Mencheres was always held in high honour. The present state of the pyramids of these ancient kings makes this tradition regarding them a fact of history.

It has further appeared from the monuments, that the honourable distinction of MENCHERES above his great predecessors, did not consist in recovered lands and other works of public utility. Neither in this particular does the tradition contradict them. The religious tenets of MENCHERES had, doubtless, procured him favour in the eyes of the priests, who eulogized his memory to the Greek travellers. On the other hand, the heterodoxy of SUPHIS and SEPHRES had as least as much to do as their misrule with the evil odour of their memories. All this is perceptible, even in the Greek version of their narrative.

The inscriptions on the monumeuts fully elucidate the nature of the claims of MENCHERES upon posterity. He was a great religious reformer. Important changes in the idolatry of Egypt were accomplished in his reign. He was the first to make an essential part of the whole religious system a doctrine which retaiued the supreme place and received especial and universal honour in all succeediug epochs. This tenet consisted in the elevation of Osiris, or Mizraim, the local god of Busiris in the Delta, to the rank of god in all Egypt, holding the especial office of god-king of Hades and its inhabitants. MENCHERES was certainly the king in whose reign this doctrine first became a part of the religion of Ancient Egypt. To this fact the monuments bear

clear, undeniable testimony. There is no tomb of the epoch that preceded MENCHERES, in which the name of Osiris is once mentioned; whereas MENCHERES was himself a priest of Osiris. He is so entitled in the tomb of the prince Ashuf (No. 95, Ghizeh), who styles himself  "priest to MENCHERES, [who was] priest to Osiris." In the inscription on his coffin, also, the name of Osiris occurs for the first time prefixed as an epithet (Osirian) to his title of king,  "Osirian king," with the meaning that the person so styled was dead. In the tombs of all succeeding epochs from MENCHERES down to the time when the darkness of this idolatry was finally dispelled by the light of Christianity, Osiris always appears as the god-king of the dead, and his worship as the substance of the entire funeral ceremony, while on no tomb, we repeat it, of the times before MENCHERES, is the name of Osiris ever mentioned at all.

These marvellous records of the thoughts of men who lived on the earth 4000 years ago, enable us to carry yet one step further the proof that this doctrine was first introduced into the mythology of Egypt by king MENCHERES. His is the only name of a mortal king of Egypt recorded in that most extraordinary of all ancient documents "the book of the dead," as Dr. Lepsius has happily entitled it; which, being a guide-book to the soul in the invisible world, relates altogether to the worship of Osiris and the gods of his parentage. Thus plain and satisfactory is the monu-

mental evidence that the doctrine of Osiris, the god-king of the dead, was first introduced into the mythology of Egypt by MENCHERES.

Mizraim was one of the sons of Ham, and the father colonist of Egypt (Gen. x. 6). His name was originally יְצַר, *Iozar*, "the potter." It had, in all probability, been given him as a title of honour on account of his proficiency in the fictile art, wherein his descendants also excelled among the nations of the ancient world. Late in life, or, possibly, after his death, it was changed to מְצָרִים "two strongholds;"* on the occasion of the founding of Memphis on the western bank of the Nile by his son Menes. It is almost needless to mention that such changes of name to commemorate important events often took place in the times of the patriarchs. He died in Egypt, and was deified very soon after his death, under his first name of Iozar, which seems to show that he then bore this name, and that it was changed to Mizraim by his posterity. The name of the new god was written in hieroglyphics with two characters,  *oshe*, Coptic ⲟⲩⲥ,† "a throne," and  *iri*, "doing," "perfecting,"‡ and pronounced *osh-* [or *ots*] *iri;* in the Coptic texts ⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ, which the Greeks hellenized into Ὄσιρις. The meaning of the name of the god Osiris ("making to abide," "everlasting"), refers to

* Literally, "two circular enclosures," like the rim of a potter's vessel.

† In the Copto-Arabic alphabets ⲟⲩ is directed to be pronounced *ats*, or *osh*.

‡ Rosetta l. vii. g. 11, 14, above, p. 118, &c.

the embalming of his own body, and to his office as divine patron of the art of embalming. The memory, however, of the man Iozar, and the meaning of his name, were ever afterwards preserved in the attributes of the god. In the mythic pictures of later times, Kneph, or Nu (Noah), is often represented fashioning the members of Iozar (Osiris), and Osiris himself also forms the limbs of his own descendants, on the potter's wheel.* The burial-place in Egypt of Iozar (now Osiris) is well known. It was a city on the Phathmetic or easternmost branch of the Nile,† which was named from this circumstance Busiris, "the tomb of Osiris," as Plutarch rightly interprets it.‡

A strange wild legend regarding the death of Osiris is preserved in the Greek tradition.‖ According to it he was an excellent king of Egypt; but Typhon, his brother, who was a violent and impious person, formed a conspiracy against him and murdered him. He then cut the body of Osiris into twenty-six pieces, and gave a piece to each of his fellow conspirators, together with the government of a nome or province of his kingdom. By this means the members of Osiris were dispersed

* See reliefs from Abydos. Hieroglyphics Roy. Soc. Lit., &c. &c.

† See Map.

‡ *De Iside et Osiride*, c. 21. Its Egyptian name was Ταφοσιρις. The first syllable is the Greek word ταφη, "a tomb," which was also an Egyptian word, having the same meaning. A hieroglyphic group which reads *tph*, means "a tomb." The word *tepe* means "a tumulus," "a sepulchral mound," all round the coasts of the Mediterranean to this day; and in the East Indies the word *tope* has the same or a kindred meaning.

‖ Plutarch, *u. s.* c. 13, *et seq.* Diod. Sic., i. 21.

over the whole of the twenty-six nomes of Egypt. Horus, the son of Osiris, afterwards avenged his father's death by the slaughter of Typhon and the recovery of the throne; Isis his mother, and Nephthys his aunt, assisting him. They then carefully collected the scattered members of Osiris, and brought them to Abydos, where Isis put them together with spices and wax, and buried them. The exact place where was never known, for she swore all who knew it to keep it inviolably secret. Thus far the legend.

It is not often that ancient inventions like these are altogether devoid of some foundation in history. They are generally perversions or distortions of actual occurrences; so that, in the present instance, where we have so few better authorities, the particulars of the fable well deserve our attention.

The burial-place of Osiris was, as we have seen, Busiris in the eastern Delta. The name is written **ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲉ** in the Coptic books, and Abousir by the Arabs; meaning, as we have also explained, "the tomb of Osiris." But we had before ascertained that the name of the cemetery of Memphis was likewise "Abousir," that is, "Busiris," the tomb of Osiris; and, if we turn to the map of Egypt and other authorities for its geography, we find the same name applied to the cemeteries of nearly all the most ancient and principal cities of Middle Egypt and the Delta. This is the case with the cemeteries of several cities* in Middle Egypt, and also with those of Heliopolis,† Alexandria,‡

* Champollion: *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, vol. i., pp. 321, 395, &c.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii., p. 92. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 336.

Hermopolis,* and other ancient sites in the Delta. In this remarkable fact the history which lies concealed beneath the first part of the fable may be detected. The memory of Mizraim had been held in the highest possible veneration by his posterity; and his prerogative, as king of the dead, had been virtually acknowledged from the first. His right to the distinction was, according to the notions of the times, absolute and imprescriptable. He was the father of all living Egyptians; therefore, *à fortiori*, he was the king of all dead ones.

From this feeling would naturally arise the wish with the founder of every new city, that his own burial-place should contain also the tomb of the king of the dead. The mode in which this seeming impossibility would be accomplished was (nay is) very familiar to idolatries in all ages, however repulsive and revolting it may appear to the better and higher feelings of mankind. A compact of a formal nature was most probably entered into with the authorities at Busiris, the sanctity of the tomb was violated, and the limbs of their progenitor were carried off by the successive founders of new cities, to be deposited in vaults or pyramids in the most sacred parts of their cemeteries, which from hence were called Busiris, "the tomb of Osiris." MENES himself, together with many other planters of new cities who went before and followed after him, had thus violated the tomb and mutilated the body of the progenitor of his race. So that, at the epoch

* Champollion: *ubi supra*, p. 335.

in our history we have just brought to a close, the children of Mizraim had shared his dried body among themselves; and it was literally in the state of dismemberment in which the fable describes the body of Osiris to have been.

The next event in the fable is the successful war of Horus, the son of Osiris, against the murderers and mutilators of his father. The preceding and far more improbable incident, however, proves to be history. Is not this war history also? And is not Horus (who appears as the successor of Osiris in the lists of the god-kings)* a mythic substitute for some real king who once reigned in Egypt, and actually did originate a civil war, the object of which was to collect the limbs and pieces of the body of Mizraim from the several Busirides of Middle Egypt and the Delta, and thus to restore the mummy of the patriarch to its integrity? There is nothing in the history of idolatry, and of religious wars in general, to render such a motive in any degree improbable.

We proceed with the fable:—

The scattered limbs of Osiris were collected after the war, and brought by Isis to Abydos. Osiris was the tutelary god of Abydos. This we know upon the united and often repeated evidence both of the Greek tradition and the monuments. But the monuments likewise declare MENCHERES to have been the first introducer of Osiris as god in all Egypt, his priest, and his zealous votary. These considerations go far to

* Above, p. 199.

reduce to a certainty the high probability we had before established, that Abydos, and not Elephantine, was the city at the head of the list of kings to which MENCHERES belongs.

The hieroglyphic names of these two cities are nevertheless all but identical in form, and the same in meaning. They are mere variations of the group  *eibt*,* in Coptic EIBT, "the east," "place of sunrise." How Abydos on the western bank of the Nile, and afterwards Elephantine to the southward of the rest of Egypt, came, nevertheless to be thus named, we have now to explain. Both names originated in the myth or religious fable which taught the worship of Osiris as god-king of the dead. According to its doctrine, the course of the sun in heaven, and of the Nile in Egypt, both began at the same point in the east of heaven, and ended at the same point in the west. It has already appeared† that before the construction of the mounds of Menes the debouchure of the Nile was much further to the westward than afterwards; and that, consequently, the impression of the course of the river received by the first immigrants would be that it ran from east to west. This circumstance satisfactorily shows the origin of the fable, and also demonstrates its high antiquity. It was a first impression, which had become religion before it was corrected by experience, like many other strange notions which were current in Ancient Egypt.‡

* Alphabet, No. 21. † Above, p. 229, *et seq.*

‡ See above, pp. 203, *et seq.*

It was further taught in this fable that the souls of dead persons, whose bodies had been properly embalmed, descended into Hades (the invisible world), in the boat of the setting sun; and that, after some long period, during which they had many trials to undergo, they would rise again perfectly pure, to reunite with the body, in the boat of the rising sun. Abydos then took its name, which means "the city of the resurrection," because at the time it was the highest point up the river to which the valley had been explored; and therefore the place where, according to the fable, the resurgent souls would first reach Egypt.*

It was, moreover, the doctrine of this fable, that Osiris reigned supreme both as god and king over the entire destinies of the bodies and souls of the dead. He especially presided over the resurrection. Therefore it was that his city was named Abydos—"the city [or place] of the resurrection."

The name of Abydos being thus evidently derived from the myth of Osiris, and MENCHERES being the first king to introduce the worship of Osiris into all Egypt, it certainly follows that MENCHERES was the founder of the temple and worship of Abydos, and that he gave its name to the city which had been founded by his ancestor, USERCHERES.

MENCHERES was also the king who first annexed Abydos and the surrounding district to the rest of

* Elephantine doubtless received also its kindred name on its first discovery, a century or two later, for the same reason.

Egypt. Before his time it had been two kingdoms. In this extension of the borders of Egypt to the southward consisted one of his claims on the gratitude of posterity. It was, of course, impossible for the priests to state this fact plainly, because in their legends Egypt had been Egypt entire and unchanged for nearly 18,000 years in the days of MENCHERES. By the help of the monuments, however, the truth peeps forth through the thick bandages of fable in which they have swathed it up.

In choosing a god and a name for the city, MENCHERES set an example which was scrupulously followed as a sacred prescription by all succeeding colonists of the valley to the southward. He put it under the protection and named it after the chief attribute of one of the god-men of the then existing idolatry. Mizraim, the patriarch of the Egyptian race, under his original name of Iozar, "the potter," he made its divine guardian. Under this name he had been deified immediately on his death; and being, by the indefeasible right of paternity, the king of all dead Egyptians, the power of conferring upon his subjects the supreme blessing of resurrection, was naturally attributed to him. MENCHERES named the colony *Abydos*, "the place of the resurrection," on this account.

We have said that Mizraim, or Osiris, had been first made a god of at the city of Busiris, in the eastern Delta. He and his family were still worshipped there in the days of the Greeks.*

* Herod. ii. 59, 61. Strabo, lib. xvii. &c. &c.

The new city of Abydos being founded, and the lands of the circumjacent nome in the course of cultivation, it would naturally occur to MENCHERES to mark the consecration of the temple he had erected in the temenos, or sacred enclosure, by some signal act of piety. We must now endeavour to ascertain in what this act consisted. The fable of the death of Osiris, the mutilation of his body, and the dispersion of his limbs over all Egypt, is before us; and, wonderful to tell! we have ascertained from the map of Egypt at the present day, that the body of the man Iozar (or Mizraim) was, at some remote period, in the actual state of dismemberment in which it describes the god Osiris to have been. It goes on to relate, that Horus was the king who waged the war against the conspirators which issued in the collection of the scattered limbs of Osiris and the reconstruction of his mummy at Abydos. We have found that on the tablet in the Wady Meghara, the disc of the sun at the top of the ring in the name of MENCHERES is replaced by a hawk, which was the god Horus himself, and the symbol by which his name was written in the hieroglyphic texts.* Some close and intimate connection between Horus and king MENCHERES is obviously implied by this substitution. The same relationship is stated just as plainly in the passage in "the book of the dead," which mentions the name of king MENCHERES. He is there entitled "the royal

* The hawk was at first the living symbol and sacred bird of Athono, the sun. Horus is this same hawk deified at a later period, and made the son of the god Osiris. So that Horus was a mythic being altogether.

son [heir apparent] of Horus." A close and intimate union, therefore, a oneness between the god and the mortal, certainly existed. The circumstances of this union are remarkable, and at the same time highly characteristic of the modes of thought among mankind at very remote periods. MENCHERES made a god of himself during his own life-time. He took into himself the divine nature of the hawk as the sacred bird of the sun; and wearing a mask representing the head of a hawk, he was borne in procession, worshipped, and solemnly inaugurated in a shrine in his own new temple of Osiris at Abydos, as a new god in the mythology, "Horus,* the son of Isis and Osiris, the avenger of his father." This ceremonial took place at night, and thenceforward that night was marked in the *fasti* of Egypt for especial and solemn observance as "the night of the birth of Horus at Abydos.†" Thus did MENCHERES manufacture (so to speak) the event to commemorate which he professed to have built his new temple. It was the birth of Horus, their firstborn son, to Osiris and Isis, the elder divinities, to whom he had dedicated it; the young god being impersonate in himself, but ever afterwards worshipped in the temple, together with his father and mother.

The example set by MENCHERES of making himself the firstborn son of the tutelary gods of his new city, was abundantly followed by his successors. So much

* The meaning and derivation of the word Horus (ὥρος) are unknown. It belongs altogether to the Greek tradition. It is not read in any transcription of the Egyptian language.

† Book of the Dead, Part ii., *passim*, &c., &c.

so, that at the extinction of the Pharaonic kingdom by Cambyses, the gods of all the temples of Egypt were enshrined under the triple form of father, mother, and son. In the temple of Luxor in eastern Thebes, which was built by king AMENOPHIS-MEMNON of the 18th dynasty, the birth-chamber of the young god still exists. There are many repetitions of his picture. His features in all of them are very evidently those of AMENOPHIS-MEMNON, the founder of the temple.*

King MENCHERES, then, really was the god Horus in the apprehension of his subjects. He had introduced Horus as a new god in the mythology of Egypt, and had himself been enshrined and worshipped as his living impersonation. In this particular also, therefore, our fable proves to be history. We have next to search for the traditive and monumental evidence of the war which it tells us was waged by Horus for the recovery of the scattered members of his father's corpse. From both these too often dark sources of knowledge we have the same response; and, happily, it is of unwonted lucidity. In the dynasties that immediately follow those of MENCHERES, the lists are in utter confusion, the monuments fail us altogether. So total is this obscuration, that it is difficult, upon either authority, certainly to name the successor to MENCHERES. This is the unmistakable symptom of times of broil, and bloodshed, and misfortune. We shall find that it never once deceives us in the course of our progress down the stream

* Champollion's *Lettres d'Egypte*, pp. 209, *et seq.* We can also attest the same fact.

of the history of Egypt. So that the war also of our fable proves to be an actual occurrence. It was waged by king MENCHERES against the cities of Middle Egypt and the Delta, for the purpose of recovering from the Busirides in their several cemeteries the mutilated and scattered members of the body of Mizraim, in order that the restored mummy of the patriarch might be deposited in the temple of the new city which was being built to his honour. MENCHERES went forth to this holy war the living impersonation of Horus, the son who had just been born to the deified patriarch in his new abode. Thus marvellously have the monuments of Egypt transmuted this Greek fable into real history!

This war for the scattered limbs of Osiris was a protracted, and would, doubtless, be a very sanguinary, one. The monuments and the lists combine to show that it lasted for many years; and, from its very nature and object, it must have been attended with hard fighting and much slaughter. The bold act of aggressive fanaticism which was meditated by MENCHERES and the priests would outrage the local religion of every city in Egypt; and in these days of old, when all wars were religious wars, and the whole of life was religion, each city in succession would fight *à l'outrance*, for the inviolability of the most sacred place in their cemeteries. The prosperity of the preceding epoch entirely departed: Egypt became for many years an aceldama of civil broil; and the restoration of the mummy of Osiris was never completed—so says the fable. Yet is the origination of this war evidently the chief claim of

MENCHERES upon the gratitude of the Egyptian priesthood!

We have no data whence to ascertain the year in the reign of Mencheres in which this bloody war commenced. The new epoch, therefore, in the history of Egypt which was ushered in by it, we assume to have begun at the death of MENCHERES, which seems to have taken place while the war for the members of Osiris was at the hottest.

We now stand upon the line of demarcation between two of the great epochs of the history of Egypt. Here it may be desirable briefly to pause and consider wherein the period we are about to leave differed from that upon which we shall immediately enter. The comparison will not long detain us. In manners, and customs, and modes of thought, the variation between the two is next to nothing. It is the never-failing effect of civil war to put a stop to human progress. The political changes of the coming age we shall find to be the mere exasperations of already existing opinions and prepossessions. It was in the religion only of old Egypt that great changes were necessarily brought about by the successful issue of the war for the members of Osiris. It will, therefore, be incumbent on us to consider here the mythic notions implanted in Egypt by the first settlers, and still prevalent there at the period, the monumental history of which we are now concluding.

The religion of the first immigrants across the Isthmus of Suez into the valley of the Nile was the worship of dead men and women, their progenitors,

whom they made the tutelary and local gods of the cities they founded in the Delta. They likewise assigned to them the control over the heavenly bodies and the powers of nature; and, as in all other idolatries, the gods soon became united to, and one with, the objects they governed, by the aid of clumsy metaphors. The introduction, by king CECHOUS, of the worship of living impersonations of these gods in the form of animals, seems to have perfected this system of coarse symbolism.

I. When Mizraim and his clan marched from Babel to the westward, they carried with them, as a tradition, the worship of the setting sun. On their arrival on the banks of the Nile, they planted this worship at Heliopolis, and gave to their god a human impersonation in ADAM, the father of mankind. Heliopolis was the oldest city in Egypt, and one of the ecclesiastical capitals at all times. The notion of all authority being in those ages strictly patriarchal, the idea of kingly power was naturally associated with Adam, and thence with the sun. It was from this association that all the kings of Egypt came to be entitled PHARAOH, that is ϕρα, "the sun," as Sir Gardner Wilkinson explained long ago, and very sagaciously. It was for the same reason that some of the kings of the epoch before us claimed descent from the sun by making his disc the first character in their names. The notion, likewise, that long afterwards obtained, when all the gods of Egypt were incorporated in one system, the sun being the centre and father of them all, is an obvious expansion of the same idea. No trace, however, of this

incorporation is discoverable on the monuments either of this epoch or the succeeding one.

The hawk was the sacred bird of ADAM, or RE-ATHOM.*

II. KNEPH, NU, or NOAH, was local god of some city of the Mendesian nome in the north-east of the Delta. It was probably that named Θμουις (Thmüis) by Herodotus (ii. 166; *see Map*). A shrine dedicated to Kneph was found there by Mr. Burton (*Excerpta*, Pl. 41). As we have explained,† he was the god of the yearly overflow. His attributes were all closely connected with it. His name was sometimes written  which seems to mean, "*Nu* [Noah] of the waters."

III. AMUN, or HAM, the son of Noah, was in like manner made local god of one of the most ancient cities of Egypt on the eastern bank of the Phathmetic branch of the Nile. It retains to this day its ancient name of PERAMOUN, ⲡⲉⲣ‡ ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ, "the city of Amun."§ This god is not mentioned on any monument of the epoch now before us. His inauguration as the god

* It was (so far as appears on the monuments) at a much later period that the bull *mna*, or *Mnevis*, was made the sacred animal of the god of Heliopolis.

† Above, p. 239.

‡ ⲡ is the definite article "the;" ⲉⲣ is the old word עיר, *er*, *ar*, "a city."

§ Champollion: *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. 134. It was here that long afterwards SETHOS I., of the 19th dynasty, worshipped the monadic Amun (*i.e.*, Amun alone), on his return to Egypt from Canaan. See *infra*, vol. ii., 19th dynasty.

of Thebes, and the wars that it occasioned, are events in the later history of Egypt.

The ram, or goat, was the living symbol both of Nu and Amun. In hot countries, the two animals are scarcely distinguishable.

IV. Osiris, or Mizraim, was the son of Ham, and chief of the sept which first migrated from Babel to Egypt. We have explained that he was first deified at Busiris, his burial-place (*above*, p. 327).

V. That Phtha, or Phut, was also the son of Ham, and deified by Menes, we have in like manner fully detailed (*above*, p. 261).

A bull was the living symbol of Osiris, as well as of Phtha, in the mythology of this old Egypt.

VI. Thoth, or Tat, was a descendant of Ham, who accompanied Mizraim to Egypt. His name is not recorded in the Bible. He invented the hieroglyphic system in the city of Heliopolis. For this reason he was made, at his death, the god of letters, and of the wisdom which letters impart. He was also the god of Hermopolis, in the western Delta. His living symbol was the black and white ibis. He is represented with the head of this bird by Suphis at the Wady Meghara.*

VII. Month, or Mendes, as his name was written by the Greeks, was also one of the first settlers, and a relative of Mizraim. His name may have been *Manahath*, מנחת. The word was used in his times as the name of a man (Gen. xxxvi. 23); but Mendes himself is not mentioned in the Bible. He founded

* Above, p. 201.

a city on one of the easternmost branches of the Nile (*see Map*), giving his name to a nome of Egypt, and to the branch that fertilized it. The city itself was called Papremis in the days of Herodotus. The position of the territory of Mendes exposed it to foreign invasion, both from the desert rangers and from the pirates that infested the coasts of the Mediterranean. It was, probably, his success in repelling these aggressions that procured him after death the honour of being deified as the god of war, and made local at the outermost borders of the kingdom. The Wady Meghara, in Arabia Petræa, was called "the mountains of Mendes" in the times of SORIS (*above*, p. 268), and ever afterwards. His living symbol was an eagle, or large hawk, of a different species from that dedicated to the sun. Herodotus names him Ἄρης (Mars), (*see* ii. 63, &c.); and, misled by the circumstances that Thmüis, the city of Nu, was in the Mendesian nome, and that the goat was the sacred animal both of Nu and Amun, applies the name of Mendes to an obscene and later modification of the latter god as the son and husband of the goddess Neith. This mistake, which was perpetuated by his Alexandrian successors, has given much trouble to the students of Egyptian mythology.

VIII. ANUBIS seems to have been one of the sons of Mizraim. Their names are not recorded in the Bible. Several of the patriarchal names bear, nevertheless, considerable resemblance to the word *Anubis*, or *anuph* (in hieroglyphics), *e. g.*, ענב *Anub* (1 Chron. iv. 8, &c.).

Anubis was local god of Lycopolis, on the north-

eastern border of the Delta,* where the vicinity of foreign enemies called for the exercise of constant vigilance. For this reason the black dog, or jackal, was made his sacred animal. On account of the same attribute of vigilance, Anubis was made the guardian of the tomb, and he is the only divinity to whom prayers are addressed in the inscriptions on the vaults of this epoch.

IX. *Hen*, חן, or HANNATH חנת, seems to have been the name of another of the sons of Mizraim. He was deified after his death under the name of , *en*, or *hn*, and made the god of strength, Hercules. His city in the Delta was on the western bank of the Phathmetic branch. Its ancient name was חנס, *Hanes* (Isa. xxx. 4); and סונה, *Seveneh* (Ezek. xxix. 10).† It was known to the Greeks as Sebennytus, which is the hellenized form of the latter name. ϫⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, "the strong god," is its Coptic name at this day. Arab. *Samunoud*.‡

These were the gods of Old Egypt. They were all dead men. Their goddesses were like unto them:—THMEI, the Themis of the Greeks, ATHOR, NEITH, and HEKT (the Buto§ of the Greek tradition, whose living symbol was a frog), are the only names of

* Above, p. 56, note †.

† It has been mistaken for Syene on the southern frontier; but the context shows that it must have been on the north-eastern border, "from the tower of Seveneh to the border of Cush."

‡ Champollion: *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. 191.

§ In Coptic, ⲃⲟⲧⲟ, "loathsome." She was the driver away of frogs and other loathsome creatures; like the Baalzebub and Jupiter Muscipulus of later mythologies.

goddesses recorded upon its monuments. They are those of the wives of the patriarchs. They are not preserved in the Bible; we have therefore not the means of identifying them.

These dead and deified men and women constituted the germ, the multiplication of which into a cumbrous system of idolatry was commenced by MENCHERES at Abydos.

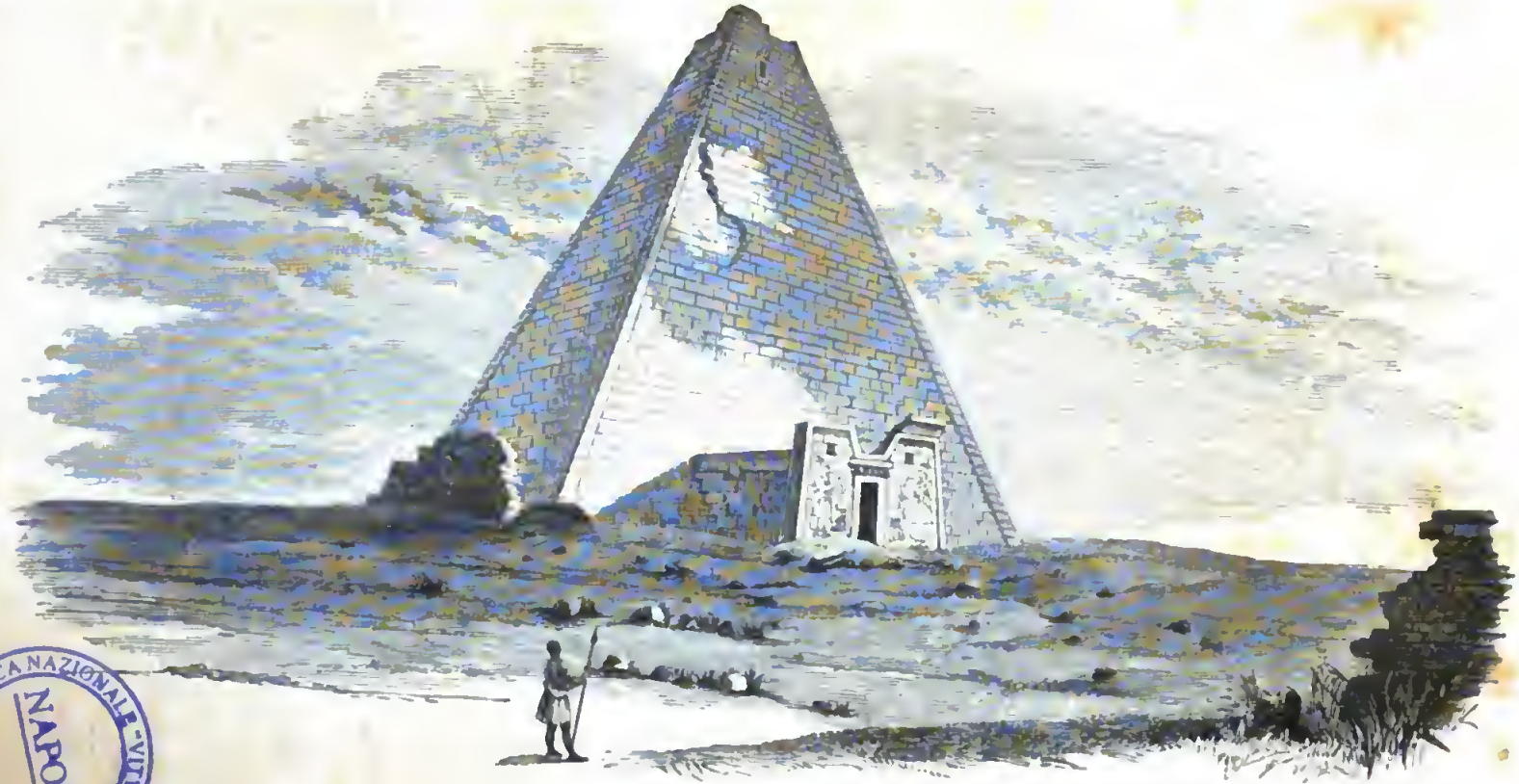
The worship of the gods of Old Egypt was local, except at stated seasons, when the inhabitants of all the rest of the kingdom came in boats to general assemblies,* held in their cities, with much pomp and ceremony. The goddesses were not enshrined with the gods, but were the independent local divinities of their own cities, to which periodical concourses took place as to the shrines of the gods. Their votaries were chiefly women.

This old worship in the cities of the Delta was still kept up when the Greeks visited Egypt. Herodotus is our authority for the particulars of it.† The monuments of the epoch amply confirm them. The general assemblies of Anubis and Thoth are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions over the doorways of the most ancient tombs. The princesses also of the same remote period are nearly always qualified as the priestesses and votaries of one goddess at least; often of more.

Of the worship of the limbs of Mizraim in the Busirides

* Πανηγυρεις. See Rosetta, above, p. 120, &c.

† Lib. ii., cc. 59—64. He describes one or two general assemblies which he himself witnessed. His account of these venerable absurdities and obscenities is curious, and very disgusting.



PYRAMID NEAR MEROE.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE III"
NAPOLI

we have no record anywhere. It had been abolished for 1500 years when the Greeks were in Egypt. It is not mentioned on the monuments. We are, therefore, only in condition to state that it must have existed.

The worship of the dead kings in their pyramids had in like manner been long forgotten in the days of the Greeks. Though we shall find, hereafter, that it survived for some time the former superstition. The notices of it, however, on the coeval monuments are too scanty to throw any light upon its nature. Some idea of the general appearance of their temple pyramids may be obtained from the accompanying illustration, which represents the all but perfect memorial of an attempt to revive this form of man-worship in the times of the Romans, at Meroe, in Ethiopia.

Such was the religion of primitive Egypt; which, however, soon underwent material changes at the hands of the successive colonists of the upper country. These modifications, and the wars consequent upon them, make up the subsequent history of the monarchy. While everything else in the institutions of Egypt was immutable, her religion changed incessantly. The names of these old gods were the only part of it that underwent no variation. A large and lamentable waste of learning, research and ingenuity, would have been saved to some of the most eminent students of our subject, had this very palpable fact been perceived by them.

This religion of the first settlers in Egypt differs from that of MENCHERES essentially in two points, which must be distinctly explained.

I. In Old Egypt the building of a new city was

always signalized by the creation of a new god, its local guardian, who was a deification, either of the founder, or of some eminent individual of his kindred or ancestry.

II. There was no prescription as to the sex of the new local divinity. The wife, the mother, or any other female relative of the founder, was just as eligible for deification as himself or his male relations.

The defect of such a religion is obvious enough; it never could have become national, for there was no bond of union between the several parts of it—no, not even between the gods and goddesses. Both were capable of indefinite multiplication independently of each other. It therefore tended inevitably to division. There would soon have been as many religions as there were gods and goddesses; and, seeing that in remote times religion and politics were one, as many governments also. So that, under the old religion, Egypt would have been broken up into a number of petty kingdoms, or nomarchies, like so many other nations of the ancient world. She would also have been as obscure as they are in the annals of mankind. These schisms had certainly appeared in the present epoch; we have detected the symptoms of them. The institution of periodical general assemblies had also been designed to meet the evil. The thought was no bad one, though it was perceptibly inadequate to the occasion, and had on that account but partial success.

The reform of MENCHERES was of a far more masterly character. Though in itself ridiculous and obscene, like everything else in idolatry, it was, never-

theless, highly ingenious, and displayed no common share of sagacity in detecting the real nature of the evil, and of foresight in devising an expedient which effectually counteracted it. Instead of making a new god for the city of Abydos, he took thither one of the old gods; leaving him, nevertheless (for he was a god), still to inhabit and be worshipped in his original shrine and city of Busiris; and altering nothing, save the (doubtless) known and admitted abuse of the mutilation of his body. By this very clever device, the change of MENCHERES, instead of adding a god to Egypt, and thereby a new cause of apprehension of the speedy dissolution of the monarchy, forged a bond of internal union, by making one idol the god of two cities. The purpose, however, would not have been accomplished had the gods of Busiris and Abydos remained in all things one and the same. In that case the change would have resulted in exasperation and rivalry, instead of union. Osiris, at Abydos, then, must be brought out in a new character. MENCHERES foresaw this difficulty also; and he met it manfully. Osiris was monadic (that is, alone) at Busiris. Osiris at Abydos shall be married. The mode in which he procured a wife for his god was somewhat extraordinary. Having with much pomp and circumstance landed him (a wooden idol), at Abydos, he split him asunder.* Of the right half he made a new image of Osiris

* Plutarch (*De Iside*, u. s.) is our authority for the performance of this delicate operation at Abydos. The Ch. Bunsen tells us that the theogony of the gods of Egypt is a subject "new to science" (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i., p. 360). It is, indeed, *new to science*, and in a sense which that excellent and learned author scarcely suspected.

himself. He had the figure of a woman carved out of the left side, which he named , *ishi*, that is, "the female Osiris." Such is the exact meaning of this group, which the Greeks transcribed *Isis*. It is the feminine form of the hieroglyphic name of Osiris; so that Osiris and Isis, at Abydos, were the two halves of Osiris at Busiris.

The marriage thus happily consummated must needs be fruitful. We have seen how in due time MENCHERES himself issued forth from the adytum of the temple of Abydos the living impersonation of "Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, the avenger of his father."

Thus was the founder of Abydos deified, and yet no new mythic interest created in the empire. This was the very problem which the circumstances of his times had set before MENCHERES to solve. So masterly was his solution of it, that it passed into a sacred prescription, which was (with but one exception) rigidly followed by every succeeding founder of a new city in Egypt.



THE PYRAMID OF SEPHRES.

CHAPTER VII.

WAR FOR THE LIMBS OF OSIRIS.—CONSEQUENT POLITICAL CHANGES.—SUCCESSORS OF MENCHERES.—DYNASTIES VI.—X.—HERACLEOPOLIS, OR SEBENNYTUS.—SHEPHERD-KINGS.—DYNASTY XI.—CHAMBER OF KARNAK.—ITS HISTORICAL VALUE.—SENUCHERES THE FOUNDER OF COPTOS.—MENTHESUPHIS THE FOUNDER OF THEBES.—ACHTHOES.—ABRAM.—DATE OF HIS ENTRY INTO EGYPT.—TAUGHT THE EGYPTIANS ARITHMETIC.—AMENEMES.—OBELISC ERECTED BY HIS SON.—ITS INSCRIPTION.—THE CANAL OF THE FAIOUM.—EXTENSION OF EGYPT TO THE SOUTHWARD.—SUMMARY OF THE ELEVEN DYNASTIES.—SKETCH OF EGYPTIAN PROGRESS DURING THIS PERIOD.—RECAPITULATION.—EPOCHS I.—VII.

THE fierce and bloody war which MENCHERES waged against the cities of Middle Egypt and the Delta for the recovery of the scattered limbs of Mizraim, and the reconstruction of his mummy at the new city of Abydos, lasted for many years. How long is unknown, and there is but one particular to guide us in measuring it and the anarchy which certainly followed it. The arts of design had undergone no perceptible deterioration when the body politic once more recruited itself after this terrible convulsion. The skilled artists, therefore, at the beginning of it were yet living, and capable both of exercising their skill, and of teaching it to others at its termination. So that the troublous time

which had intervened, during which there would, of necessity, be little demand for their productions, cannot have exceeded 100 years, assuming the average expectation of life at the epoch to have been 120 years. There is no need for hesitation in making this statement. The value of the indication which points to it has already been tested. It will appear still more clearly in future similar intervals.

When the history of Egypt becomes once more legible on her coeval monuments, we find that a very important political change had resulted from this great war and tumult. The primary division of the monarchy into two Egypts, separated from each other by the Nile, was again opened; and for many succeeding centuries two independent dynasties of kings pretended at the same time to the sovereignty of all Egypt on the eastern and western banks of the river. The eastern Pharaohs were the adherents of the old religion of which we have just given some account. Their capital was Heliopolis. The western Pharaohs, on the other hand, were the partizans of the changes introduced by MENCHERES. Their capital was Abydos. The position of their capitals and of their dominions would naturally tend to draw the eastern Pharaohs northward towards the Delta, and the western Pharaohs towards the vast and then all but unknown but most fertile districts to the southward of Abydos. Hence it came to pass, that the names of Northern and Southern Egypt, which the two members of the kingdom had always borne in religion, were realized, and the dominions of the king of Lower Egypt lay prin-

cipally to the northward, and those of the king of Upper Egypt to the southward; though the Nile still continued to divide the two monarchies.

The bitterest exasperation and the most rancorous hatred existed between these two parties. The Mencherian faction, who were ultimately successful, and have, therefore, written, or rather shadowed forth, the history of this commotion, cannot find epithets sufficiently opprobrious to embody their resentments. The subjects of the eastern Pharaohs at this period of the schism are termed in the Greek myth the Typhonians. In Egyptian this word probably meant nothing more than that they resisted the plunder of the *teph*,* or tombs of Mizraim in their local cemeteries; but when transmuted into Greek, it associated them with the giant Typhon, one of the evil demons of the Hellenic mythology. At a subsequent period, when the eastern Pharaohs were again successful and dominant in all Egypt, they are called in the histories written by the opposite faction, *foreigners*, and *Phœnician Shepherds*, which were, in the estimation of their times, the foulest aspersions that it was possible to cast upon any native of Egypt. These shepherd-kings were, nevertheless, the native Pharaohs of Lower Egypt, the lineal descendants of MENES the proto-monarch, and allied by kindred to their royal aspersors of the other pretension. We cannot too soon make our readers acquainted with this fact, so important to the understanding of the epoch now before us, and which is proved by the monuments beyond the possibility of question.

* Above, p. 327, note ‡.

We will now briefly consider the Greek lists of the successors of MENCHERES.

DYNASTY VI.

SIX MEMPHITE KINGS.

1	OTHOES, was killed by his own soldiers; reigned	30 years.
2	PHIOS, reigned	53 „
3	MENTHESUPHIS, reigned	7 „
4	PHIOPS, began to reign at 6 years old; reigned within an hour	100 „
5	MENTHESUPHIS, reigned	1 „
6	NEITOCRIS, a very beautiful woman, with a yellow complexion; she built the 3rd pyramid; reigned	12 „
		203

We copy the list at length in order that our correction of it may be clearly understood. The entries 4 and 5 are doublets: the repetition, by mistake, of 2 and 3. The list, therefore, contains 4 names only; which are written thus on the monuments:—

1	Ata, or Atat	[*Othoes*].
2	Pepé	[*Phiops*].
3	Monthotp	[*Menthesuphis*].
4	Neitokri	[*Neitocris*].

If the monuments are also to guide us in assigning to these names the places they really occupy in the succession of the sovereigns of Egypt, the whole list must be arranged thus:—

6th (or 11th) Dynasty. Theban.	16th Dynasty. Memphite, Shepherds.	26th Dynasty. Saite.
3 MENTHESUPHIS.	1 OTHOES. 2 PHIOPS.	4 NEITOCRIS.

We can only account for this marvellous confusion by assuming that, in the temple lists, or papyri, the dynasties were arranged in decads, and that some copyist had read across the columns, misunderstanding the arrangement. The mistake was a very early one. Eratosthenes also found it in the original, whence he transcribed his canon. Phiops, Menthesuphis, and Neitocris, stand together in it as the 20th, 21st, and 22nd monarchs of Thebes. Dr. Hincks imagines that he has even detected the same arrangement on a fragment of the Turin papyrus. If this be the case, which is doubtful, the modern, and therefore apocryphal and unauthoritative, character of this list of kings is finally decided by the circumstance.*

The comparison is at any rate instructive as to the accuracy of the originals whence the Greek lists were copied, and as affording another insight into the amount of historical authority which really belongs to them.

	Kings.		Years.	
DYNASTY VII. Memphites.	70 [or 5];		reigned 75 [or 70 days].	
DYNASTY VIII. Memphites.	26 [or 9];		 146 [or 100 years].	
	96	14	221	100 y. 70 d.

Whether these dynasties numbered 96 kings in the temple lists, or only 14; whether they reigned for 221 years, or only for 100 years and 70 days, are questions in no way important to the history of Egypt. The

* Transactions Roy. Soc. Lit., vol. iii., pp. 128, *et seq.* The name *Neitocris* is the only certainty in the entire reading. The names that follow it look not unlike those of the 26th dynasty. See *Auswahl*, taf. iv., c. 5, *fragment* 43.

cemetery of Memphis, which has preserved ample records of the monarchs that reigned there, gives us as the successors of MENCHERES on the Memphite throne, only the two obscure kings CHERES and ONNOS, who, in the lists, appear in the 5th dynasty; and the equally inglorious name of SENT, or SENTIS. These, as we shall find, certainly reigned at Memphis cotemporarily with the 11th dynasty in Upper Egypt.

The history of Egypt on the death of MENCHERES is dimly perceptible through the blunders and falsifications of these three Memphite dynasties. The tumult and bloodshed of a fierce civil war was the consequence of his aggression upon the Busirides, when the archives of the kingdom would be imperfectly kept and in much confusion. In this condition of the lists the strange blunder of some later copyist of the 6th dynasty may have originated. There would also be gaps, or lacunæ, in the tablets on which the successions were recorded; for in such times a fight for the crown would ensue on the death of nearly every king. The reigns also would be short and inglorious, so that many kings would perish unrecorded. These gaps would be filled up at later periods; and the interpolators would take care that the antiquity of the monarchy suffered nothing from these additions. It is thus we account for the 7th and 8th dynasties, with their nameless kings and coeval centuries. Civil war and anarchy, then, were for some years the consequences of the religious reforms of MENCHERES. Such is the history of Egypt implied in the documents now before us.

The history of the city of Memphis itself during this

disastrous interval, may also be gathered from our collation of these lists with the monuments in her cemetery. One of the first acts of MENCHERES on his apotheosis, as Horus, would doubtless be to remove to Abydos the limb or piece of the body of Mizraim enshrined in the Busiris (Abousir) of Memphis. By this removal, the entire cemetery would be desecrated; and on that account the city was deserted by nearly the whole of her inhabitants.

Such migrations were very frequent in the ancient world, when the earth was but thinly peopled. Memphis remained the nominal capital of Egypt during the civil war and the anarchy. Hence we account for these three Memphite dynasties, and their three obscure kings; but at that time, and for two centuries afterwards, it was all but deserted. The priests attached to the temple of Phtha and the pyramid of MENCHERES constituted the bulk of its inhabitants.

DYNASTY IX. Heracleopolitan.	4 kings	reigned	for	100	years.
1 ACHTHOES, a tyrant, &c.					
DYNASTY X. Heracleopolitan.	19	„	„	185	„
	23			285	

ACHTHOES we shall find to be a Theban king, and to belong, like Menthesuphis, to the following dynasty. We, therefore, restore him to his place.

Heracleopolis is generally supposed to have been a large city of Middle Egypt, situated, according to the French geographers, on the western bank of the Nile, at the opening of the Valley of the Faioum, fifty

miles to the south of Memphis. Several Coptic authorities mention the city of Heracleopolis, and clearly identify it with the Hanes of the Bible, by writing its Egyptian name ϩⲛⲉⲥ or ϩⲛⲥ. It also named some place in the locality pointed out by D'Anville; but not a large city. No trace of the remains of any such exists there.* The Heracleopolis of Middle Egypt must therefore have been a small city, and of comparatively modern date.

We have elsewhere † expressed our conviction that the Hanes of the Bible was Sebennytus in the Delta. The grounds of it must here be explained. The god Hen, Haneth, or Hercules, ‡ was worshipped at Sebennytus; the name Hanes would therefore be common to it and to Heracleopolis in Middle Egypt. We believe such to have been actually the case; and that Sebennytus is repeatedly named ϩⲛⲉⲥ in the Coptic books. § The passage itself in which Hanes is mentioned also greatly favours Sebennytus. "His princes were at Zoan, his ambassadors came to Hanes" (Isa. xxx. 4). Zoan, or Tanis, and Sebennytus, are

* It is the modern town of Benisoueff. I could find no trace of it, though I made many inquiries, and spent some time in the search. Sir G. Wilkinson was in like manner unsuccessful.

† Above, p. 343.

‡ חנת, *Haneth* changed to חנס, *Hanes*. We have before remarked upon the same dialectic variation in another word. *Sevenech*, or *Suene*, סונה (*u. s.*) is merely an inversion of *Hanes*.

§ Champollion (*Egypte sous les Pharaons*, i. 322, &c.) mentions three places, said in the Coptic books to be in the neighbourhood of Hanes, which he finds close to Sebennytus, and not perceiving this identity, repeats, without any authority, in Middle Egypt.

near each other, and on the north-eastern border, where the ambassadors of the king of Judah would first enter Egypt. Whereas, the other Heracleopolis was at least 300 miles from Tanis, and all the principal cities of North Egypt lay between them. We conclude from hence that Sebennytus is the city of *Hanes* of this passage, and therefore that it, like Tanis, was great and noted.

The present state of the ruins of Sebennytus entirely confirms this. The door-posts of most of the houses of the modern town of Samanhoud, which stands on the site of it, are fragments of red or rose granite, polished, and often inscribed with hieroglyphics. Many of the sculptured remains, also, brought from Egypt 70 years ago, and now in the different museums of Europe, are known to have been found there. Many more would doubtless be discovered, were the extensive mounds that surround Samanhoud on all sides properly excavated.

Thus clearly does it appear that Sebennytus was one of the great cities of Ancient Egypt.

Manetho, the translator of the lists, was, as our readers are aware, a native of Sebennytus. He would for this reason be the more anxious to save his native city the disgrace in the eyes of the Greeks of having been the capital of two dynasties of Typhonians, or Shepherds; and therefore, by writing it Heracleopolis, which was also one of its names, he sent their wits a wool-gathering to Middle Egypt.

The geographical position of Sebennytus, however, not only decides that it must have been the capital of the

9th and 10th dynasties, but tells the history of this line of Pharaohs. It was in the close vicinity of Busiris Proper, which could not but be averse to the changes of MENCHERES, notwithstanding their policy. To Sebennytus, then, the adherents of the old religion betook themselves when expelled from the rest of Egypt; and there, safe amid the swamps of the Delta, they practised the old worship, defended the Busirides of their vicinity, and bid defiance to the conquering arms of the Meucherians during the whole period of their ascendency. So that the 9th and 10th dynasties of Heracleopolitan or Sebennyte kings, in Lower Egypt, and afterwards on the eastern bank, were cotemporaneous with the Mencherian kings of the 11th and 12th dynasties in Upper Egypt and on the western bank. This was the political issue of the war for the limbs of Mizraim. The kingdom was split thereby into two independent and rival monarchies. Until this fact had been eliminated from out of the mists of metaphor and mendacity, the history of Egypt at this epoch was unintelligible.

We are not aware of the existence of any memorial of these early Sebennyte Pharaohs, save a single inscription in the porphyry quarries at El Hamamat in the western mountains of the Red Sea. An ancient king there with the name of IMEPHTHIS  *ei-m-htp*, "the strengthener"* an attribute of the god

* The walking reed (Alphabet, No. 16), thus compounded in ancient names, has an active transitive power. Thus the name of Menes (*above*, p. 226), in which it occurs, means "the builder of cattle pens."

Hercules or Hen (which was itself afterwards deified), commemorates a victory over his enemies, in which he captured 50 men, 50 oxen, and 200 asses; and on the occasion excavated granite from thence for the great hall of his tomb or pyramid. It seems probable that he was one of the kings of this line, and that he surprised the colony of one of the successors of MENCHERES at Abydos by whom this quarry was first opened.

The policy pursued by this line of Pharaohs told very powerfully upon the subsequent history of Egypt, and was largely conducive to her greatness among the kingdoms of the ancient world. Circumscribed by their victorious rivals to the north-eastern border of the kingdom, they cultivated assiduously the friendship and alliance of their eastern neighbours on the other side of the Isthmus, and promoted the immigration of the Canaanites into their dominions. The fertile plains of the Delta would be in themselves sufficiently attractive to these hardy rangers of the desert; and when thus encouraged, they would flock into Egypt in vast multitudes. This policy procured for them the opprobrious epithets of shepherds and foreigners, in after times, it is true; but it also assembled around the standards of their sons the vast armies wherewith they overthrew the throne of the Theban Pharaohs, and ushered in the epoch of the greatest material prosperity of Egypt.

DYNASTY XI.

THEBANS.

16 nameless kings reigned for 43 years.
AMENEMES 16 „

The 16 of this entry appears from the monuments to be a clerical error for 6. The 43 years we shall find to be an error likewise.

We shall henceforward proceed with more comfort and confidence down the stream of time, having happily a monumental chart to guide our progress. The use of it has not hitherto been discovered, though it has been long known to exist. It is, therefore, incumbent on us to explain that the comparison of it with other monuments has furnished a key by the help of which its directions are rendered available. This monument is the Chamber of Kings at Karnak, to which we have already more than once referred, and which we now proceed to describe.

It was originally a relief, covering the four walls of a small chamber at the south-east angle of the ruins of the gorgeous palace-temple of Karnak, in eastern Thebes. It was removed from thence about seven years ago, by M. Prisse, a French artist who travelled much in Egypt, and presented to the Royal Library at Paris. The subject of this relief was the adoration of the statues of 61 of the royal ancestors of THOTHMOSIS III. The name of each monarch is written before the sitting figure which represents him. The kings sit in four rows or planes. Thirty-one face the left of the entrance, and thirty the right. Several of the

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names have been mutilated or defaced, by the removal and other casualties.

The arrangement of the royal names on this monument has been much discussed by the students of Egyptian Archæology, but the only certainties that have resulted from their labours are the following.

I. The chamber contained 61 kings, the predecessors of THOTHMOSIS.

II. The 31 kings that face the left of the entrance are older than the 30 kings that face the right.

III. The king which Bunsen read SEMEMPSES (D 1 *of our diagram;* above, p. 245), is the oldest legible name in the entire series.

IV. The kings that face the left on the second row from the base (B *of our diagram*) are those of the 12th dynasty of the lists. The kings on the first or base row (A) are their predecessors in an inverted order.

Several other particulars, just as essential to the comprehension of the chamber of Karnak, have entirely escaped the notice of the acute scholars who have devoted themselves to the study of it. We give here two of them.

V. The figure of THOTHMOSIS, which remains, worships the two lower rows of kings only on both sides of the entrance. The worshipper of the two uppermost rows has perished altogether from both door-posts. Lepsius* repeats the figure of THOTHMOSIS. The propriety of this restoration we shall discuss hereafter. It suffices for our present purpose to state, that *the circumstance certainly implies a marked distinction between the*

* Auswahl, pl. 1.

kings in the two upper rows and those in the lower ones; and that the entire series is hereby divided into two sections.

VI. Accordingly, when we compare it with other monuments, we find that *all the known kings, save one, in the two lower rows, write their names in two rings, whereas those in the two upper rows, write their names in one ring only.*

The importance of these particulars will soon appear. We have said that in the base row facing the left (A), sit the predecessors of the kings of the 12th dynasty, whom we assume, from this circumstance, to constitute the 11th of the list. Both these dynasties are entitled Theban. Our assumption, therefore, seems to be correct. There are eight kings in this row, or plane. The 8th, who is nearest the door-way (A 8), belongs to the 12th dynasty. The king at the opposite extremity (A 1), is the oldest of the eight. The circumstance alone, that he sits immediately below the oldest king in the upper row (D 1), decides this point. The name is, unfortunately, mutilated; but we are able to supply it from another hieroglyphic chronology, which will require to be noticed hereafter. In the tablet of Abydos,* the name that immediately follows it (A 2), is also inscribed; and the name before it is that of MENCHERES. It is so likely that his name would appear in a list of the ancestry of THOTHMOSIS, and in some conspicuous and honourable place, that there seems no room for hesitation in restoring thus  the three characters that are erased in this ring. The name, then, which follows is that of the successor of this reformer at Abydos; and the 11th dynasty immediately succeeded

* Auswahl, pl. 2.

the 5th, and was therefore coeval with the 6th (*above*, p. 354).



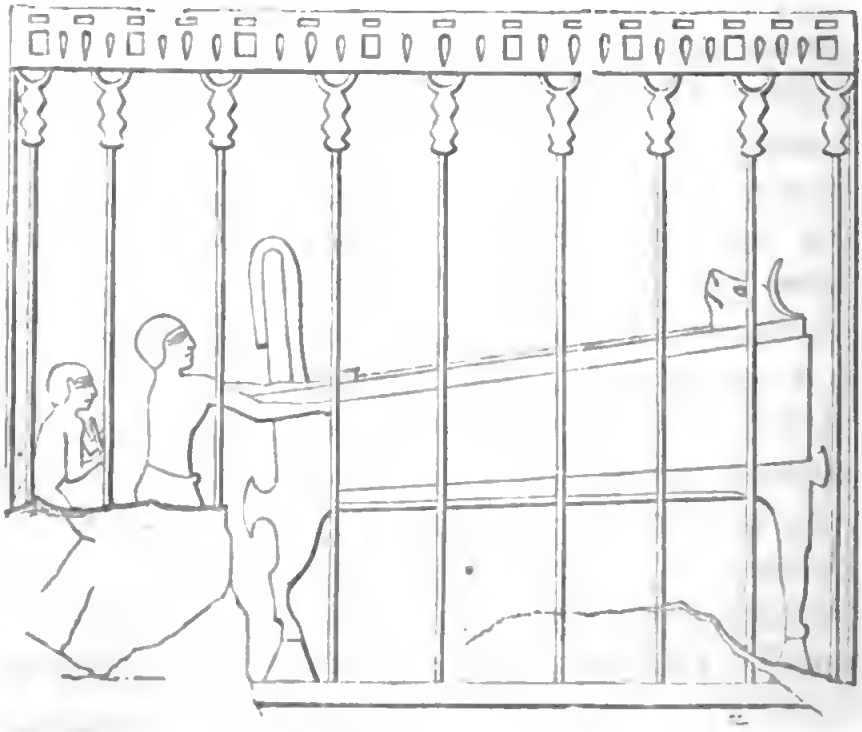
Sa-nfr-ka was the first king of this 11th dynasty. His history is written in his name; which will, therefore, require our careful consideration.

The first character, the disc of the sun, we have already explained. The last character has likewise been interpreted. It is the habitual abbreviation of the group, *kru*, "body," "form," and terminates the names of MENCHERES, and nearly all his predecessors; being, probably, assumed by them as a family distinction or title.* The remaining group in the ring is identical with the name of SEPHURIS of the 3rd dynasty (*above*, p. 253). Its first character is the crotchet, or yoke, to which the scribes suspended their writing materials, wearing it upon the left shoulder (*Alphabet*, No. 107). The lute is the initial of the word *nfr*, or *nufe*, "good" (*id.* No. 91). The pen, or reed, was tied to the shorter limb of the crotchet, which also served as a stopple to the water vase for tempering the colours. The longer limb fitted into a socket in the wooden palette.  The idea of "joining, "union," was therefore implied by this crotchet. Such was also the meaning of the sound it represented.† The title before us meant "the [good] propitious union." This meaning seems to suggest that it was

* The first and last titles read together, *kr-re*, "body [impersonation] of the sun."

† In the Coptic texts the prefix, C, or CA, denoted "an artificer;" thus CAHPOHHT was "a brazier," "a putter together of brass." Used separately, the word CA meant "parts" to be put together.

conferred upon SEPHURIS in some connection with the bull Apis, to whose worship he was so exclusively devoted. We suspect that the first Apis was the calf of the sacred cow of the goddess Hathor, and of the sacred bull of Athom; and that the name SEPHURIS, "the propitious union," was given to the promoter of his birth, and the introducer of him into the mythology of Egypt. This is very gross and ridiculous we grant, but such is idolatry. It was so from the first. It remains so to this day. It is "of the earth, earthy."



APIS EMBALMED. TOMB AT GHIZEH.

The exploit which won for the Pharaoh before us the same title was of a different character. SENUCHERES

(as his name would probably have been hellenized) succeeded MENCHERES at Abydos when the religious war for the members of Osiris was yet raging. It would seem that he made a successful inroad into the western Delta, which he penetrated as far as the city afterwards called Sais, of which the goddess Neith was the local divinity. Here he plundered her temple of its most sacred and venerated object; probably, the first image of her. We need scarcely say that the practice of stealing gods is a trait of idolatry in all epochs. A remarkable instance of it is mentioned in the Bible,* which took place very near the time we are now considering. Having thus secured his idol, SENUCHERES followed the example of his predecessor, in founding a new city for it, about 50 miles south of Abydos and on the opposite bank. How this new city came soon afterwards to be called Coptos we shall presently have to explain. Here he followed also the precedent of MENCHERES in his treatment of his idol. He gave, however, a revolting illustration of the *morále* of idolatry in the form of the male half, and also in making it the son as well as the husband of the goddess Neith. It was as the mythic offspring of this marriage that his title of "the propitious union," *sa-nfr*, was conferred on him. His new idol was named *Sa* for the same reason. He was probably the inventor of this mode of dealing with an independent goddess.

SENUCHERES is likewise the most ancient name that appears in the quarries of El Hamamat, near the Red

* Gen. xxxi. 30—35.

Sea. He seems, therefore, to have discovered and opened them for the decoration of his new city.

The name which immediately follows that of SENUCHERES in the chamber of Karnak (A 3), has been found more frequently than his, but only in Upper Egypt. The first ring only is inscribed at Karnak; as was invariably the practice in genealogies. It is fully written thus: . Bunsen has rightly identified it with the MENTHESUPHIS of the lists, the third or fifth monarch of the 6th dynasty. The first ring in the name of this king occurs likewise at Thebes in a very remarkable connection. It is in a procession sculptured on the roof of the temple called the Memnonium, near Gournou, in western Thebes, in which the images of the ancestors of RAMSES the Great are carried forth. The name of MENTHESUPHIS is preceded by that of MENES, the founder of the monarchy, and followed by that of AMOSIS, the founder of the dynasty or royal line of RAMSES. This association strongly suggests that MENTHESUPHIS was also the founder of Thebes, the city in which the monument occurs. The circumstance that his is the oldest royal name that ever was discovered at Thebes,* powerfully supports it. The name itself reduces it to a certainty. *Month-htp* means "united to," "one with" Month, the Egyptians' Mars, the primary god of the temple and of western Thebes.†

* By Papalaqua, five-and-twenty years ago. The monument is now in the Museum at Berlin.

† The group *htp* (*Alphabet*, No. 19), certainly has the sense of "union," like the Coptic word ϩⲱⲧⲡ, as well as many kindred meanings.

The founder of Thebes, then, was the successor of SENUCHERES the founder of Coptos, and the second successor of MENCHERES the founder of Abydos. Thus was the valley colonized to the southward in the exact gradation of the succession of the kings (*see Map*).

As with his predecessor, the name of MENTHESUPHIS also relates his history. He was a great and successful warrior. He prosecuted with vigour the attack upon the Busirides of the Delta, which had been begun by his grandfather. His grand exploit in war was the capture of the city of Mendes in the eastern Delta, and the plunder of its temple. He took with him to Upper Egypt the hawk-headed image of the god Monthu, and built for it a shrine and temple on a vast and most fertile plain on the western bank of the Nile, about 20 miles south of Coptos. He, however, did not, like his predecessors, multiply his idol by mutilation, but enshrined him in Upper Egypt in the monadic form in which he had found him in the Delta. Around this temple congregated, in the course of time, a vast population, and it became Thebes, the great metropolis of ancient Egypt, and one of the renowned cities of the world.

MENTHESUPHIS, like his predecessor, availed himself of the granites and porphyries of Hamamat in his constructions, and has inscribed his name there.

The use of two rings to write his name seems to have been suggested to MENTHESUPHIS by the peculiar position of his dominions. He had a considerable territory in the Delta; he had another large tract of country in Upper Egypt, to the south of Abydos. But in his times Middle Egypt was an independent

kingdom, and also very nearly depopulated, through the combined effects of the war, and migration to the new cities to the southward. MENTHESUPHIS was therefore the king of two countries, separated from each other by the dominions of another monarch. It was in this circumstance, we feel persuaded, that the inscription of his name in two rings originated. In the first ring he is entitled *nb-tt-re*, "the lord of the two regions* of Re," or the sun; the god of Heliopolis, the capital of the Delta; by it, therefore, he noted his dominion over Lower Egypt. In the second ring we have said that he claims to be one with Monthu, or Mars, whom he had made the god of his new city; which being in Upper Egypt, he thereby claimed dominion over it. So high was the place of MENTHESUPHIS in the estimation of his descendants, that all the succeeding kings of his faction wrote their names in two rings, in the first of which they claimed dominion over Lower Egypt, in the second over Upper Egypt.

Besides the tomb of Thebes already mentioned, one other cotemporary memorial of MENTHESUPHIS only is known to exist. It is the funeral tablet of one of his officers, which was found at Abydos, now in the Louvre at Paris. On this tablet the title in the second ring only is his royal name. That in the first ring is given him as an epithet merely.

Abydos, as being south of Memphis, was in Upper Egypt. The second ring, therefore, was his only royal name in that city.

The reign of this king seems to have been short,

* The middle character varies in different transcriptions.

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but very glorious. His memory was held in high honour by his posterity.

Of the existence of the three successors of MENTHESUPHIS (A 4, 5, 6), the chamber of Karnak is itself the all but solitary memorial. Their reigns must have been brief and turbulent; most probably they all fell in battle. If their names, like those of their predecessors, narrate their history, the first of them,  NUBCHRES (A 4), distinguished himself by carrying off from some temple a gilded image of the sun. The second  (A 5) took the name of USERCHERES, his predecessor, out of respect to the memory of the founder of Abydos. His name occurs on the fragment of a statue dedicated to him and ONNOS of the 5th dynasty, by the son of AMENEMES, the first king of the 12th dynasty. The last of these Pharaohs,  NESTERES (A 6), took the extraordinary title, "victorious over the sun." We infer from it, that he was the king who first expelled the opposite faction from Heliopolis; which capital was in the possession of his immediate successors. There is monumental evidence of this fact. He it also was who most probably removed from the temple there an image of the sun, which he enshrined at Thebes in the Temple of Month. The god of Thebes took from this circumstance the title of *Monthra*, .

No other record of these three last kings has yet been found. Their names in Upper Egypt are therefore unknown.

The sixth king of the 11th dynasty wrote his name thus,  . In Lower Egypt he was entitled "the sun the pacificator."* His royal name in Upper Egypt was *uk-taa-ken*, "much bread [big loaves], peace" (*i.e.*, peace and plenty). This is the king whom we found in the lists as ACHTHOES of the 9th dynasty. If the history of his times also suggested his name, as was the case with his predecessors, he it was in whose reign the bloody war between the rival Pharaohs of Upper and Lower Egypt for the limbs of Osiris was brought to a close.

This indication in the memory of his name is confirmed by his own monumental history, and still more amply by that of the times that followed him, both on the monuments and in the lists.

No cotemporary memorial of the reign of ACHTHOES has been discovered. But his name is twice recorded with honour by one of the most illustrious of his descendants, MESPHRES, of the 18th dynasty, in a tomb at Gournou, the cemetery of Thebes, where he receives divine honours from a priest whom MESPHRES had consecrated to the worship of his ancestors, and who was buried in it;† and also at Eilethya, in the tomb of one of the officers of MESPHRES.‡ This last circumstance strongly suggests that ACHTHOES was the founder of Eilethya. The tutelary divinity of this city was Re,

* *Kn;* Coptic, KHH, "to pacify" an infant.

† Burton's *Excerpta.* It is to be feared that this tomb has now utterly perished.

‡ Champollion: *Monumens d'Egypte Texte*, p. 272. This tomb also is destroyed.

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"the sun," the god of Heliopolis; with which, as we have just explained, the history of the times of ACHTHOES is closely connected. We conclude from hence, without hesitation, that such was the fact. Eilethya was situated about 40 miles to the southward of Thebes. This discovery, therefore, of its founder, satisfactorily shows the justice of the inference already suggested * by the great masses of the yet existing remains of ancient Egypt, that her first colonists proceeded with their settlements from Memphis to the southward.

MENCHERES, the author of the first great revolution in the monarchy, signalized his reign by the naming of the city of Abydos, 100 miles south of Memphis. The three cities, moreover, of Coptos, Thebes, and Eilethya, each again to the southward of Abydos and each other, were founded respectively by SENUCHERES, MENTHESUPHIS, and ACHTHOES, the successors of MENCHERES in an exactly corresponding regularity of descent.

The history of ACHTHOES, thus clearly set forth by his monumental name and fame, and by the good times that followed him, is, nevertheless, flatly contradicted by the Greek tradition. According to it, ACHTHOES was "the cruelest of all the kings that ever reigned in Egypt, who did evil deeds everywhere throughout the kingdom. At the last he was seized with madness, and devoured by a crocodile."† We have now seen something of the mode in which the keepers of the archives of Egypt narrated history to foreigners; enough, at any rate, to justify us in deciding that neither the breadth nor the strength of this statement

* Above, p. 211. † List of 9th dynasty.

constitutes in itself a sufficient guarantee for its historic accuracy. It by no means follows inevitably that ACHTHOES really was a cruel and wicked tyrant, because they assert him to have been so. Their slanders were nearly as fierce and vehement against SUPHIS and SEPHRES. Yet have we found on the monuments, that both these Pharaohs (especially the latter) were great benefactors to Egypt. MENCHERES, on the other hand, whom they praise just as extravagantly, proves to have been a mere clever fanatic, who plunged Egypt into a ridiculous and bloody civil war, which lasted for more than a century, and terminated, at length, in the permanent disruption of the kingdom into two rival monarchies. In the present statement, therefore, the monumental history of ACHTHOES has likewise sufficiently exposed its mendacity. Our only further concern with it is to try to find out the motive of its falsification. We need not hesitate here. Some religious doctrine or act of ACHTHOES, which displeased the priesthood, and clashed with their interests, assuredly induced them thus to vilify his memory. The falsehood itself betrays this act, which abundantly appears on the monuments of his immediate successors. It is said that at length he was devoured by a crocodile. By this we are to understand that late in life he founded a new city in Egypt, which he dedicated, not to a stolen god (after the then prevalent custom), but to a new god, one of the first settlers, his ancestor, סבא, *Seba*, or סבך, *Sebach*, the son of Cush (*see* Gen. x. 7).* Of this god, *Seb*, or

* His maternal ancestor. Probably enough the children of Mizraim and Cush would intermarry at a very early period.

Sebek, he made the crocodile the living symbol on earth; whence the city was called by the Greeks Crocodilopolis. In heaven his representative was the planet Saturn. ACHTHOES also carried his new god to Eilethya, where he enshrined it in the same temple with Ra;* following herein the new fashion of his predecessor, and most probably co-regent, NESTERES. Two innovations like these upon the sacred precedents of MENCHERES amply account for the slanders which the priests of Egypt have heaped upon the memory of ACHTHOES.

The pacification itself, moreover, may have had something to do with the ill fame of its author. We shall presently find it to have been made on a broad basis, and in a comprehensive and tolerant spirit, very unlikely to have found favour in the eyes of a heathen priesthood.

An occurrence took place at the time of this treaty which is important to our present inquiry. We have already mentioned the migration of Abram to Egypt soon after his call† as the earliest cotemporary notice of this ancient kingdom. Josephus, the Jew, repeats the Scripture narrative of this occurrence in his history of his own nation‡ with a remarkable addition. He tells us that when Abram arrived in Egypt he found the Egyptians quarrelling concerning their sacred rites,

* Champollion: *Texte, u. s.*, p. 265. No doubt seems therefore to be possible as to ACHTHOES' having been the builder of Eilethya. Thus wonderfully do the monuments of Egypt check each other.

† Above, p. 20.

‡ Antiquitates Judæorum, c. viii., § 1, 2.

on which there were great differences of opinion among them. By his skill in disputation the patriarch confuted the arguments of all sides, and by the influence of his repute for wisdom he composed their differences. The historian does not give his authority for this addition, but there can be no doubt of its sufficiency. Not only were the temple records of Egypt in existence at the time, but the work of Josephus was itself specially addressed to the Greek and Egyptian philosophers of Alexandria as an apology for his own nation. So that to have ventured upon a falsification of the history of Egypt, thus disparaging to its ancient fame, and thus to the credit of his own hero, to antagonists perfectly competent to expose it, and deeply interested in its exposure, would have been sheer insanity. It would hardly, therefore, be possible to produce a statement better authenticated. We assume it, then, for an historical fact, that Abram arrived in Egypt at a time when the monarchy was convulsed by a fierce civil broil, arising out of religious differences, which was appeased during his sojourn there. But it is further apparent that there is a strong coincidence between the state of things in Egypt described in this passage, and that which we find to have actually prevailed there at the epoch now before us, when the nation was torn into opposite and contending factions by a religious war raging principally on the eastern frontier of the Delta, where the cities of the first settlers stood, and which Abram must have crossed to enter Egypt from Canaan. The resemblance is a striking one. We therefore examine the respective chronologies of the

two events. The calculations we have elsewhere given leave 421 years from the foundation of Memphis for the proximate date of the cessation of the war for the limbs of Osiris.* The interval between the date of the confusion of tongues and the call of Abram is stated differently in the Hebrew, the LXX., and the Samaritan versions of the inspired narrative of this period (Gen. xi. 10—31). The average, or mean, of the three summations is 566 years. We deduct from this number 120 years, the expectation of life at the epoch,† and therefore the time required for a generation of men to die out, for the interval between the confusion of tongues, the first colonization of Egypt, and the founding of Memphis. The remainder is 446 years, which varies 25 years only from the proximate date at which we had arrived, in calculating with the vague elements supplied by the monuments of Egypt. So that the coincidence in the dates is to the full as striking as that in the histories.

We state it, therefore, as a well-established synchronism of much value to the history of Egypt (and, perhaps, not without its use in the illustration of the Bible also), that Abram went into Egypt in the reign of Pharaoh ACHTHOES, and that the treaty which terminated the war for the limbs of Osiris was ratified during his sojourn there.

The circumstance that these dates are proximate, and not certain, in no degree impairs the strength of their testimony to the fact that the two events both

* Above, pp. 318, 350. † See Genesis vi. 3.

occurred at the same time, because the calculations whence they result are made from entirely different data; no single element being common to both. Our reckoning of the interval between the foundation of Memphis and the cessation of the war begun by MENCHERES is before the reader. It is made on the years of the reigns of the several kings in Manetho and Eratosthenes, checked by the probabilities which the state of art suggested at the successive epochs we had to consider.

The Scripture date, which so wonderfully coincides with our estimate, is the sum of the ages of the progenitors of Abram at the time of the births of their eldest sons, from the confusion of tongues, and of his own age when he was called into Canaan, in which years he also went down into Egypt (*see* Genesis xii.). The table stands thus :—

		Hebrew.	Samaritan.	Greek. LXX.
Genesis xi. 18—26.	Peleg (born the year of the dispersion, and, therefore, named פלג, "division" (1 Chron. i. 19).	30	130	130
	Reu	32	132	132
	Serug	30	130	130
	Nahor	29	79	179
	Terah	70	70	170
	Abram (age when he left Haran; Gen. xii. 4).....	75	75	75
		266	616	816

The entries of these numbers, however, in all the

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three versions have either been dishonestly tampered with, or vitiated through careless transcriptions. The Greek version was made by the Jews of Alexandria at the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus. They altered these numbers for the dishonest purpose of making the ancestors of their nation as old as the founders of Egypt, Babylon, and other ancient kingdoms, appeared to be by their temple records. The same numbers were altered in the Hebrew Bible by the Jewish Rabbins of Tiberias, about a century after the destruction of Jerusalem, for the equally dishonest purpose of making the year of the consecration of Solomon's temple coincide with A.M. 3000, *i.e.*, with the first year of the 4th millennium from the creation of the world. The Samaritan version is of the three the best entitled to confidence. It is, however, generally, far too slovenly and careless a text to rely on or quote as authority. Nevertheless, its summation varies fifty years only from our balance of errors.

This invaluable synchronism, therefore, enables us to date the treaty of ACHTHOES. It was ratified about 566 years from the confusion of tongues, and 446 years from the foundation of Memphis by MENES. Any material error in this date seems impossible. The grounds of our confidence in it are before our readers. We have no fear of their assent to our conclusions.

According to the same narrative of Josephus, Abram assisted at and promoted the treaty between the contending sects in Egypt. He acquired hereby a great reputation for wisdom, which he likewise sustained by instructing the Egyptians in the sciences of arithmetic

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and astronomy, with both of which they were unacquainted before Abram came into Egypt. This statement rests upon the same authority as that we have just considered. It was addressed to the literary antagonists of the writer, who were also Egyptian priests and keepers of the temple records. Had it erred, therefore, in the smallest particular, there was in them no lack either of the will or of the power to expose the error. It was, however, not contradicted by them, because it was notoriously true. No other motive for their forbearance is conceivable. This conclusion is well supported by our other authorities for the history of Egypt. The Bible account of the transaction makes Abram to have had frequent intercourse with Pharaoh and his princes (doubtless, the king of Lower Egypt at Sebennytus), and to have returned to Canaan with great riches (Gen. xii. 14—20; xiii. 1, 2). The stone books on which this wonderful people wrote their own history, and which are still extant, confirm the statement of Josephus still more pointedly. Of ACHTHOES and his times, and of those of all his predecessors, there exists no single record of king or subject, having a date, whereas tablets and papyri inscribed with dates of the years of the reign of AMENEMES, the son and immediate successor of ACHTHOES, are not uncommon. The same practice continued with all the successors of AMENEMES to the end of the monarchy.

The names of the Egyptian months (*above*, p. 144) likewise first occur upon the monuments of AMENEMES. We state this fact deliberately, and upon very ample evidence.

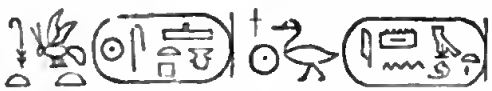
Thus clearly and unmistakably is it inscribed on the monuments, that in the reign of Pharaoh ACHTHOES the Egyptians received large accessions of knowledge regarding the computation of time and the arrangement of their yearly calendar;* and thus triumphantly do these cotemporary memorials of Egypt confirm the statement of Josephus.

The Laterculus of Syncellus names the Pharaoh in whose reign Abram visited Egypt, Ραμεσσαμενω, and makes him the 22nd king from MENES. In our summary ACHTHOES is the 24th or 25th king. It also makes the event to have taken place 585 years after the founding of Memphis. So that neither of the numbers differ materially from our calculations.

The son and successor of ACHTHOES on the monuments, is inscribed in the lists as the last monarch of the 11th dynasty, AMENEMES. We found his father in the 9th, and his predecessor, MENTHESUPHIS, in the 6th. These three names of kings of the same race and succession are thus scattered over six dynasties. It is certainly suggested by this circumstance that in the temple records the kings of this epoch stood in three parallel columns, as having reigned at the same time at Sebennytus or Heracleopolis, Memphis, and

* Lepsius supposes the names of the months to be much earlier. He assumes them to have existed even in the times of the 3rd dynasty, because he found them written with minium on the blocks of the Great Pyramid of Dashoor (*Einleitung*, p. 148). This pyramid, however, was built by the so-called Shepherds of the 15th and 16th dynastics, two centuries after AMENEMES, as we shall presently find. It was in his mistake regarding these dynastics that the error originated.

Abydos or Thebes, and the Greek lists of it originally took their present form through the mistake of some copyist. That which was thus begun in ignorance would, however, be afterwards perpetuated through fraud, for the purpose of adding a cento of kings to the history of Egypt, and a millennium of years to her antiquity. Here, then, is yet another probability in favour of our conclusion that the dynasties of the Greek lists, from the 6th to the 11th inclusive, reigned cotemporarily if they reigned at all, and that the actual duration of the interval they represent does not greatly exceed a century.

The complete transcription of the name of AMENEMES *  † is well known from many monuments. The first ring reads *ra-sa-otp-het*, "Pharaoh, whose heart is one with Sa." The second ring means, "the beginner [introducer] of Amun [into Upper Egypt]," and reads *amnemhe*, in which we distinctly recognize the name AMENEMES of the lists, and the RAMESSAMENO of the Laterculus.

This king was doubtless of age at the time of the treaty ratified by his father with the Sebennyte Pharaoh, and also deeply interested in it, if its terms resembled those of all similar treaties in after times. As firstborn successor, and probably co-regent with ACHTHOES, his own marriage with a princess of the

* This group means "king of Lower Egypt" (Bunsen: *Eg. Pl.*, vol. i., p. 520; No. 357).

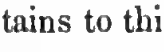
† "Son of the sun."—Used by AMENEMES and all his successors conventionally to denote "king of Upper Egypt."

other pretension would probably be one of its stipulations.

This queen of AMENEMES seems to have been the priestess or votary of the goddess Neith in the city afterwards called Sais; and from this circumstance arose the great religious act in his life, which, like his predecessors, he has recorded in his names. The name of Neith was originally נית, *Niuth*, or Neveth. She was the wife of Ham and the mother of Mizraim. Her great skill in weaving and other kindred female arts was renowned throughout the human family. By Japhet and his sons she was known as Ἀθηνη,* or Minerva, the goddess of wisdom. She was also deified with the same attribute by the clan of her son Mizraim, and the shuttle was the initial of her name in hieroglyphics (*Alphabet*, No. 92). The treatment which a goddess so highly venerated and so generally worshipped as Neith had received at the hands of SENUCHERES, would be likely enough to excite the resentment and disgust of the votaries of her primitive shrine in the Delta; and this resentment may have been one of the *causæ irarum* which were prolonging the war on the accession of ACHTHOES. This delicate question was skilfully and wisely adjusted in his pacification with the SEBENNYTE Pharaoh.

Some especially sacred image or relic of Ham, who had been the earthly husband of Neith, was withdrawn from his shrine at Peramoun, in the Delta, and with

* It will be noted that Ἀθηνη is an inversion of Νειθ. The attributes of the two goddesses were absolutely the same.

much religious pomp transported to the city of SENUCHERES in Upper Egypt. AMENEMES and his betrothed wife accompanied the procession and took part in the ceremonies. On their arrival, the nuptials of Amun and Neith, and of AMENEMES and his queen, were celebrated in the same solemnity. The young king took on this occasion his name in Upper Egypt *amnmhe*, "the beginner [introducer] of Amun." On the same occasion he gave to the city the name which it retains to this day, , *kbtu*, written in Coptic, ⲕⲟⲫⲧ, and in Greek, Κοπτος. The meaning is symbolized by the initial of the group, a tie or loop of cord; and also appears in the Coptic root, ⲕⲱⲃ, "to double up," "fold together." It plainly meant, therefore, the "union" [marriage] of Amun and Neith, its tutelary divinities, which was celebrated there. The obscene and loathsome idol which had hitherto been worshipped as a god in the shrine of Neith was now veiled. Some time afterwards, however, probably on the birth of the firstborn of AMENEMES, the same image (for nothing changed in this idolatry) was once more brought forth, enshrined and worshipped as *Sa*, the son of Amun and Neith. This name (Sa, "union") had been given him by SENUCHERES. AMENEMES came forth from the shrine at the same time with the idol, as its living impersonation, taking on the occasion his name in Lower Egypt, "he whose heart is one with Sa;" *i.e.*, "one with Sa altogether."

Trifling as these details may appear, they are nevertheless the history of Ancient Egypt.

The pacification of ACHTHOES was as much a religious

act as the war of MENCHERES. So was every other peace and war in the entire history. The gods, their shrines and worship, their ranks, orders, and precedence, were mixed up with every transaction of life, whether public or private. We shall see hereafter the amazing influence exercised by the gods now before us over the destinies of Egypt during the whole of the period of her subsequent history, which it is our present purpose to consider.

While the mythology is before us, it may be well to mention the remarkable confirmation which our impression of the mode in which Upper Egypt was colonized by MENCHERES and his seven successors receives from a monument of the son of AMENEMES. It is the pillar or obelisc which is nearly the only known memorial of the city of ACHTHOES, in the valley of the Faioum, called afterwards Crocodilopolis (*see Map*). Its modern name is Begig. It would seem to have been on the occasion of assuming the sovereignty of all Egypt on the death of AMENEMES that his son set up this pillar. It therefore records the mythology of AMENEMES only. Like other similar monuments, the upper parts of the northern and southern faces were occupied with long inscriptions, containing the name and titles of the constructor, and asserting him to be under the protection of Phtha (of Memphis) on the north face, and of Monthra (at Thebes) on the south face. On the lower portion of the east side are five horizontal compartments. On the south end of each of these compartments next the angle are the gods of five cities of Upper Egypt. On the opposite end are

those of as many cities of Lower Egypt. In the centre, in all the five, Pharaoh, wearing the white crown, facing the south, and with his second ring over him, worships the god of Upper Egypt. He then wears the red crown, faces the north, and worships the gods of Lower Egypt on the opposite side of each compartment. The gods stand thus:—

Upper Egypt.		Lower Egypt.
	I.	
Amun, *Eastern Thebes.* Monthra, *Western Thebes.*		Phtha, *Memphis.* Re-Athom, *Heliopolis.*
	II.	
Isis, Nephthys, *Abydos.*		Horus, Osiris } *Busiris.*
	III.	
Sebek, Neith the celestial } *Crocodilopolis.*		Thoth and his goddess } *Hermopolis (parva).*
	IV.	
Nu and Lucina, *Eilethya.*		Hercules and Hathor (Venus) } *Sebennytus.*
	V.	
Amun, Neith } *Coptos.*		Horus in the desert, Sashf. } *Unknown.*

To this highly instructive monument we may have to refer hereafter. We confine our observations on it here to the changes in mythology introduced by Amenemes and his predecessors.

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PLANE I. In this upper compartment the son of AMENEMES worships the gods of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, the three capitals of Egypt. We gather from it that the devotion of AMENEMES to Amun his mythic father had not been confined to Coptos, but that he had also introduced him as the god of eastern Thebes.

PLANE II. The history in this plane is of the utmost importance. Isis and Nephthys only, the wife and concubine of Osiris, were as yet enshrined at Abydos, which, being to the southward of Memphis, was at this period called Upper Egypt. Osiris and his son are still at Busiris proper in Lower Egypt. The mummy, therefore, of Osiris was yet incomplete, and the son of AMENEMES hereby clearly hints at his determination to persevere in the effort to complete it. The pacification of ACHTHOES, then, was after all but a truce. We shall find in the history of the dynasty founded by the son of AMENEMES that the war soon broke out again. The motive of it is disclosed here. Its successful issue in the recovery of nearly the entire body of Osiris, and its consecration at Abydos, the consequences also of the war to the race of kings who thus persevered in it, we shall be able to read from other monuments.

PLANE III. Sevek, the crocodile, we find in this plane to have been enshrined at the new city of ACHTHOES, together with the sun, like all the other gods brought in or changed by this monarch and his predecessor and brother. The two gods are now made into one. This had also been the case with Month, at Thebes. They both remained also Month-ra and

Sevek-ra ever afterwards. Sevek is constantly entitled "the youngest of the gods," both in the hieroglyphics and in the Greek tradition. We have ascertained the reason of it. He was the last dead man that ever was introduced as a primary and independent god into the mythology of Egypt.

The queen of AMENEMES we also find from this plane to have given another proof of her devotion to Neith, by enshrining her in the temple at Crocodilopolis as Neith-pe (either the celestial Neith, or Neith in Upper Egypt), and wife of Sevek-ra. Neveth having been the mother of Mizraim, Sevek and Neith-pe were on this account made the mythic parents of Osiris, when his final apotheosis at Abydos, on the completion of his mummy, took place soon afterwards.

Thoth in the Delta, and a goddess whose name is erased, are the divinities of Lower Egypt in this plane. It is worthy of note, that in the hieroglyphic inscription over Thoth he is entitled "god in the city of *sa-hor*," *i.e.*, of the division or nome of *Hor*. Hermopolis *parva*, in the Delta, is named *Timanhor*, that is, "the town or department of *Hor*" (ⲧⲙⲉⲛϩⲱⲣ), to this day.*

PLANE IV. The gods in Upper Egypt of this plane are Nu and his goddess, enshrined at Eilethya. The attribute of the goddess is well known. She was the Lucina of Egypt. Her name was formerly read Seben, but Lepsius has rightly pointed out that the first character in it is a *t*, and not an *s*, , *tnu*. We believe that she was the wife of Noah, that her name

* Champollion: *Egypte sous les Pharaons*, vol. ii., p. 249.

was Tamar, and that its meaning, תמר, "a palm-tree," is symbolized by the initial of its hieroglyphic transcription.* She seems to have been at the first enshrined with her husband in the Delta, and from this circumstance his city may have taken the name of Thmüis.

The gods of Lower Egypt are Hercules of Sebennytus, and Hathor, or Venus. On the part of the son of AMENEMES their introduction here would seem to be a friendly recognition of the gods of his ally in the Delta.

PLANE V. Amun of Coptos and Neith his wife are the gods of Upper Egypt. Such was the power of prescription in this strange system that the form of the god of Coptos, enshrined by SENUCHERES, could never be changed.

The gods of Lower Egypt are Horus, *i.e.*, MENCHERES, in *Sachem*, "the desert," and a goddess named *sashf*, "seven." This deification may have taken place to commemorate some event in the war, probably the death of MENCHERES, on the edge of the desert in the Delta.

Thus have we obtained from this memorial the historical fact, that at the death of AMENEMES the cities of Thebes, Abydos, Crocodilopolis, Eilethya, and Coptos, had been founded to the southward of Memphis, by MENCHERES and his seven successors. Our inquiry into the names and monumental histories of

* The *m* and *n* sometimes interchange in this manner. The final *r* also is inserted or omitted in many Egyptian words without affecting the sense. Both these were probably dialectic peculiarities of the Mizraites on their first immigration.

these kings has just brought out a result identical with this in every single particular.

The obelise of Begig is equally valuable for proving that we have rightly pointed out both the mode and the order in which the gods of the Delta were transported to Upper Egypt by these kings. Though not at all consulted in the course of the investigation, it nevertheless confirms the whole of our inferences.

Conclusions like these from different and independent data are not mere antiquarian guesses, but history, well worth the working out, at any rate, and perhaps also not undeserving of being made known to the general reader.

Another of the great works of this line of kings, completed also by AMENEMES, stands recorded on yet extant monuments.

The site of Crocodilopolis in the valley of the Faioum we have already pointed out. The extensive excavations of Lepsius at Begig and its vicinity, and the surveys of M. Linant, a French engineer, in the employ of the late Pacha, have clearly identified this site. The singular little valley in which it occurs we have elsewhere (*above*, p. 230) explained to have been originally one of the debouchures of the Nile, whence it was diverted by the southern mound of MENES. The ravine through which one half of the river formerly flowed is still traceable through it, and retains to this day the name of *Bahr-bela-ma*, "the river without water." We state this fact on the high authority of M. Linant.* The present extent of arable

* Memoire sur le lac Maris, p. 5.

land in the Faioum averages 25 miles in all directions.* It was formerly much greater. In productiveness it is now equal, if not superior, to any other district in Egypt. It enjoyed the same reputation in ancient times.† It is altogether indebted for its fertility to a vast canal which leaves the western bank of the Nile about 200 miles to the south of the entrance to the valley, at a place anciently called ΤΟΡΩΤ,‡ and retaining its name, *Derut*, to this day.§ It is one of the greatest canals in Egypt, and is said by a modern authority (Linant, *u.s.*) to be capable of conveying one twenty-sixth part of the waters of the whole river. When it reaches the entrance to the valley of the Faioum it divides into two branches. One of them forms a junction with the canal of MENES, and joins the Nile again near his lower mound, 150 miles further north; the other flows westward into the valley, and after having irrigated it, now discharges its superfluous waters into the vast salt lake called Birket El Karoun (*see Map*). It has always been the tradition of the natives of Egypt that this noble work was executed during the administration of the patriarch Joseph. From this circumstance, one of its Arabic names is *Bahr Jussuf*, "the river of Joseph," at this day. It has, moreover, always been so named from the earliest

* Wilkinson's Modern Egypt, ii., 340.

† Strabo, lib. xvii., p. 556, &c.

‡ It is from the word *ter*, which meant "to pierce," "cut through," in Egyptian; because the bank of the river was *cut through* in this place.

§ Champollion: *Egypte*, vol. i., p. 288.

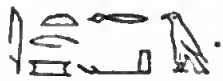
times in which a record of Egypt exists in that language.

Dr. Lepsius* has expressed his conviction that this great canal was planned and executed by the monarchs of the race and epoch of AMENEMES. It was probably from the long hieroglyphic inscription at Beni-Hassan, in the tomb of Nahrai, a prince of the court of the second successor of AMENEMES, that he derived this important historical fact. It is there distinctly stated, in columns 25 and 26, that AMENEMES was the monarch by whom this great canal was first opened, and shortly afterwards it is added that he wore on the occasion the crown or diadem of Athom.† We discovered this history in the tomb itself, long before the publication of any of the results of the Prussian Commission in Egypt. We state it here on our own responsibility, and are too happy in the powerful support of an authority like that of Lepsius.

Having thus ascertained that this great canal was completed by AMENEMES, and that the capital of the district it was designed to fertilize was adorned with the constructions of his son and successor, we could not have more conclusive evidence that the valley of the Faioum was first added to the productive surface of Egypt by AMENEMES, and the monarchs of his race that immediately preceded and followed him on the throne of the Pharaohs.

The hieroglyphic group for this canal requires explanation, on account of its important bearing upon the reading of the passage. It is written thus,

* Vorlaufige Nachricht, p. 7. † cc. 37—39.

. The three first characters, *er-t*, are the word ϩιοορ, "a foss," "a canal,"* determined by , an artificial tank or basin. The club and arm which follow are well known to have the import of "great" (*Dictionnaire*, p. 327). They were read *na* by Champollion. According to Birch, the club is merely the initial which the arm, *a*, interprets. He considers the eagle, which often accompanies it, to be a part of the group, and reads it *aa*, which he conjectures to have been an old Egyptian word signifying "great." It is certainly true that both characters are occasionally written in the group, and probably the one was the interpretation of the other. When, however, we first saw this word (*er-t*) in the vault at Beni-Hassan, it occurred to us that the eagle was more boldly outlined and more carefully executed than the ordinary character which represents the vowel. We in consequence sketched it, and also took impressions of the four places in which it is written in the course of the inscription. Comparing them afterwards with each

* This word must not be confounded with a kindred one, which has also a hieroglyphic equivalent, , Coptic, ϩιαρο, "a river," "the Nile" (see *Peyron's Lexicon*, *voce* ϩιοορ). The determinative of the former group, as well as the spelling, prevents the confusion of the two. The Nile, in the inscription of Beni-Hassan, is only entitled , "the water." It was not religious to apply any other name to it, in writing of matters merely secular.

other, and with the bird which elsewhere stands for the vowel *a*, it became evident that the bird of prey in this group was of another species, and had therefore some different meaning;* though neither then, nor for some time afterwards, had we any idea what that meaning might be.

We now believe the group to mean "the great canal of ⲁϩⲱⲙ," that is, "of the eagle,"† with the definite article, ⲫⲁϩⲱⲙ, *Phahom;* a name which was applied to this noble work on its first completion, and which, wonderful to tell, it retains to this day; for it is as commonly called by the Arabs *Bahr Faioum*, "the river of Faioum" (the province it irrigates), as Bahr Jussuf. The clouds of fishing eagles that haunt the muddy waters of this canal may probably enough have suggested its name, which has been thus strangely perpetuated for 4,000 years.

We have already ascertained that the monarchs of this dynasty were planting cities and extending the limit of Egypt to the southward, each in the strict gradation of his succession. By somewhat widening the scope of our retrospective inquiry, we find that in this they exactly followed the precedent of the kings that had gone before them. The first settlers founded cities in the Delta. MENES was the first to colonize the valley of the whole Nile, and to the extent of 100

* We are sorry to observe that this distinction, to which we can speak with full confidence, has not been remarked by the artists of the Prussian Commission (*Abt.* ii., *Bla.* 124).

† ⲁϩⲱⲙ is the Coptic word for "eagle."

miles to the southward of Heliopolis. RAOPHIS, his cotemporary, or thereabouts, was the first to cut a sluice in the southern bank of the feeder of the canal of Memphis by his upper mound. An epoch of prosperity followed, during which the kings of the 4th dynasty were occupied in the cultivation of the land which the works of the great proto-monarch had put within the reach of the yearly overflow. This land lay between his two mounds, and extended from the head of the Delta southward to the gorge of the Faioum. USERCHERES in the second epoch, like RAOPHIS in the first, penetrated the valley full 200 miles further to the south, and there planted Abydos. With him, doubtless, began the cutting of the great canal of the Faioum, with the primary intention of irrigating the district which lay between Terot and the feeder of the canal of Memphis, and at length joining it. The diversion of this canal into the valley of the Faioum was an afterthought, of which the grandfather of AMENEMES was the originator, and his father the executor. In both directions the several kings of the 11th dynasty followed in the footsteps of their predecessors of the 5th. They proceeded with their colonies to the southward, and with the canal and other engineering works to the northward. The completion of this great design, by the junction of the canal of the eagle with that of MENES at its southern termination, which took place in the reign of AMENEMES, his seventh successor, ushered in again a second period of great prosperity, and also a third epoch in the history of the kingdom. Thus exactly is the chronology of this history graduated

on the map of Egypt, and thus uniform and subordinated to strict precedent is the history of the first colonization of the valley of the Nile.

The great canal of the eagle, then, was the work of USERCHERES and his successors of the 5th dynasty, and of the seven monarchs of the 11th dynasty, of which MENCHERES was the founder. If we assume its commencement and the planting of Abydos to be events occurring about the same time, which is probable, it took about two centuries to complete it. The prisoners taken in the war for the members of Osiris were, doubtless, the workmen by whose forced labours it was mainly accomplished. We have seen that it was raging during the greater part of this interval.

The existing coeval memorials of the reign of AMENEMES are neither numerous nor important. A tablet of his found in the cemetery of Abydos is dated in his fourteenth year. At that time his son was co-regent with him. It was in works of public utility rather than of decoration that his reign of 16 years appears to have been mainly occupied.

Our readers are aware that our authority for the order of succession of the dynasty of AMENEMES is the chamber of Karnak. The value and importance of it has now been amply borne out by the indications on other monuments with which we have compared it; so that it becomes needful to notice every particular in the arrangement of the names there, as some history will, doubtless, be implied by them. We therefore offer no apology for our explanation that on this monument the name of AMENEMES (B 8) and that of his

son (A 9) change places. The reason of this displacement is to be found in two other principles upon which this series of kings has been arranged, and which are as essential to the understanding of its history, as the six we have already laid down elsewhere (*above*, p. 361).

VII. The four kings who sit at the angles next to the worshipper on both sides of the door are all conquerors of Memphis.

The two conquerors of Memphis in the portion of the chamber which now occupies our attention (the most ancient kings that face to the left of the entrance) are the son of AMENEMES (A 9) of the 12th dynasty, and the so-called Shepherd-king, SAITES, of the 16th (D 8).*

VIII. The other four kings next the worshipper are the father kings of his ancestry.

The two father kings in this left hand portion are, AMENEMES, the founder of the 12th dynasty, from whom the worshipper descended in direct line (B 8), and MENES, the founder of the monarchy (C 9).

These elucidations of this noble monument now appear for the first time. The value of the aid they have afforded to me in clear apprehension of the early history of Egypt can scarcely be overstated.

Having completed our survey of the period during which the kings in the upper and lower planes on the left side the chamber reigned in Egypt, we subjoin the order of their occurrence in the chamber itself.

* See vol. ii.

KINGS OF LOWER EGYPT.

Plane D.	8 Saites. 16th dyn.	7 Sephuris. 3rd dyn. p. 253.	6 Soris. 4th dyn. p. 267.	5 Onnos. 5th dyn. p. 313.	4 Aches. 2nd dyn. p. 251.	3 *erased.*	2 *erased.*	1 Semempses. 1st dyn. p. 245.
Plane C.	9 Menes. proto-mon. p. 226.	10 Viceroy of Memphis.						

Whole Chamber divides here.

KINGS OF UPPER EGYPT.

Plane B.	8 Amenemes. 11th dyn. p. 379.							
Plane A.	9 Son of Amenemes. 12th dyn.	7 Achthoes. 11th dyn. p. 370.	6 Nesteres. 11th dyn. p. 369.	5 UsercheresII. 11th dyn. p. 369.	4 Nubecheres. 11th dyn. p. 369.	3 Menthesuphis. 11th dyn. p. 366.	2 Senucheres. 11th dyn. p. 363.	1 Mencheres. 5th dyn. p. 362.

We have just mentioned that the kings next the worshipper are out of place in the succession in all the four planes, and the reason of their displacement. We have also shown elsewhere (*above*, p. 362), that MENCHERES in the lowest plane (A 1), sits immediately under SEMEMPSES in the uppermost plane (D 1). Both these monarchs are the oldest on their respective planes. In plane A, the six successors of MENCHERES sit in regular succession. The legible names in plane D are arranged on the same order, with but one exception; for the apparent displacement of SORIS (6) and SEPHURIS (7) is probably history. SEPHURIS in the lists is the last monarch but one of the 3rd dynasty, and SORIS the first of the 4th; so that they had been co-regent for some time, and SEPHURIS was at last the survivor.

The exception is ONNOS (D 5), of the 5th dynasty, who clearly interlopes here among kings far older than himself. We find, on examining the diagram, that USERCHERES II. sits immediately below him (A 5). But we have already mentioned that the names of the same two kings are also read upon the fragment of a statue executed to their honour by the son of AMENEMES. This occurrence of the two names in close relation to each other on two independent monuments, strongly suggests that they must have been cotemporaneous, and that the histories of their reigns were in some way combined also. The circumstances of this union must likewise have had an important bearing upon the pedigree of the son of AMENEMES (B 8), and thence upon that of THOTHMOSIS, his

descendant in the right line, and the constructer of the chamber of Karnak. The history itself belongs to the times now before us, and must therefore be developed. As a needful preface to it, however, we must complete our definitions of the principles on which the kings in the chamber of Karnak have been arranged.

IX. The kings on the two lower planes throughout the chamber all actually reigned in Upper Egypt; the kings in the two upper planes, on the other hand, were all kings in Lower Egypt.

We have before mentioned that the chamber is divided into two parts, by the circumstance that the upper and lower planes are adored by two different worshippers; that the worshipper of the lower planes is THOTHMOSIS, with his first ring (or name in Lower Egypt) before him, and that the worshipper of the upper planes has perished altogether. Lepsius's restoration of this last by the mere repetition of THOTHMOSIS and his name which stands below, we have also mentioned. It is assuredly a mistake. Had THOTHMOSIS under his first name, as king of Lower Egypt, worshipped all the four planes, his portrait would have been repeated four times on both sides; once before each plane. When planes are thus grouped in an Egyptian picture, the objects on each group belong to a distinct class or category. The grouping denotes the distinction. This is a canon of Egyptian art of universal application. The repetition of THOTHMOSIS in the upper plane should have been entitled with his second ring. As king of Lower Egypt he adored his royal ancestors

of Upper Egypt. As king of Upper Egypt he adored the kings, his predecessors, in Lower Egypt, as was the universal practice of the kings of his times.

X. The two upper and two lower planes are arranged cotemporaneously throughout the chamber, so far as circumstances admitted of the arrangement.

This will appear most clearly when the two middle planes B and C are before us (vol. ii.). And full and bright indeed is the elucidation which the discovery of this synchronism throws upon the so-called Shepherd kingdom.

In the planes now to be considered, any attempt at historical accuracy would have disclosed a fact so distasteful to the constructer of the chamber, that he would have waged war against the rival who should have publicly recorded it. The eight kings of Upper Egypt, on plane A, who are his direct ancestry, were all that he had to place there. Had he dealt equal justice to the rival line at Memphis, to which he was merely related collaterally, he must have inserted at least three times the number of thrones in the corresponding upper plane D, and thus have publicly declared the very unpleasant truth that the claim of priority to the throne of Egypt was clearly with the rival pretension. We may be quite sure that no ancient king would have made such a disclosure. The arrangement of these two planes is evidently designed to conceal this fact as much as possible. The kings of the 11th (which is the first Theban) dynasty, sit against the kings of the first three Memphite dynasties; so that it would appear, to the only mode of survey

the chamber was ever likely to undergo (in the apprehension of its constructers), that the two were cotemporary, and that MENCHERES and SEMEMPSIS, and the successors of each, all reigned over Upper and Lower Egypt at about the same time. The motive, therefore, of this arrangement is perfectly apparent. It was to make the ancestors of the constructer of the chamber as old as the oldest kings of Egypt.

It merely remains for us to deal with the single later king that interlopes in this upper plane, and with the history involved in his displacement.

This king ONNOS (D 5), of the 6th dynasty, sits immediately above USERCHERES II. (A 5), of the 11th. They are also named together on the fragment of a statue executed by the son of AMENEMES, as we have just explained. It was found in the ruins of ancient Rome. The statue had been brought thither from Heliopolis, in common with all the other Egyptian remains there.* The transaction denoted by this combination must be gathered from these accompanying circumstances. The statue represented ONNOS, and was one of a pair. The pendant was USERCHERES II. On one of the square faces of the throne of this sitting figure is the inscription: "*the king of Lower Egypt*, CHERUCHURES [the first ring of the son of AMENEMES], *living for ever has completed his construction for his royal ancestor the king* ONNOS. *He executes this* [also, even] *a statue of hard stone which he dedicates to him that he*

* It is, we believe, in the Vatican. Lepsius copies the inscription (*Auswahl*, taf. 9); but does not mention where the fragment now is.

may live for ever." On the opposite face of the throne the inscription is repeated word for word, with the single exception that the name of USERCHERES II. is substituted for that of ONNOS. It is evidently implied herein that the two statues sat over against each other in some chamber or shrine expressly dedicated to them, and were there worshipped by their descendant. This temple of ONNOS and USERCHERES II. was in the city of Heliopolis. The successor of this last monarch, and doubtless his son, was named NESTERES, "the conqueror of the sun." We have elsewhere (*above*, p. 369) expressed our conviction that he took this name on the occasion of capturing the city of Heliopolis, and plundering its Busiris and the rest of its temples. The indications now before us remarkably confirm this surmise. It is likewise to be noted that there is a close resemblance between the first names in hieroglyphics of NESTERES, and his next successor, ACHTHOES. Their meanings are in direct antagonism. The one reads "conqueror of the sun," the other "tranquillizer [peace-maker] of the sun." This resemblance shows that NESTERES and ACHTHOES were brothers. We shall have other instances of it hereafter.

The history suggested by all these circumstances seems to stand thus:—NESTERES was co-regent with his father USERCHERES II. when he took Heliopolis from ONNOS, who was king of it and Memphis at the time. NESTERES did not long survive his victory. We have said that his name is only read in the chamber of Karnak. Probably enough he fell in battle, and his brother ACHTHOES succeeded him in the co-regency.

In the pacification that ensued, USERCHERES represented Upper Egypt, and ONNOS Memphis. By one of the stipulations of it, ACHTHOES married the daughter of ONNOS, and the latter consented that the throne of Memphis should descend to the firstborn of this marriage, who was AMENEMES.

Thus was the Memphite pretension, of which ONNOS had been the representative, extinguished by the treaty with USERCHERES II., and ultimately merged in the Theban line, in the person of their grandson AMENEMES. This was the service which obtained for ONNOS the tributes of respect to his memory paid by his great-grandson, on the statue of Heliopolis, and afterwards by their descendant THOTHMOSIS, in the chamber of Karnak.

ONNOS had a son or brother associated with him on the throne in the course of his reign. His hieroglyphic name was that of one of the wild geese of the Nile,  *snt*, SENTIS. Its analogy with the name of ONNOS (*an*, a fish of the Nile),* points out their intimate connection. SENTIS must have died young, and soon after his brother. The slab of stone on which the only known record of his name is inscribed (now at Oxford), tells us that he was deified after his death.

Further indications of the correctness of these our inferences are also laid up in the same treasury of ancient history. AMENEMES (B 8) is the first king in the chamber who governs Memphis by a prince-viceroy (C 10). He sits immediately above him, 

* Above, p. 42.

entef, "lieutenant of his father." This viceroy would be, doubtless, his eldest son, who, as the first Theban viceroy of Memphis, also takes his place at the angle (A 9) as one of the conquerors of that city. Thus clearly are the facts we have collected from one part of the arrangement of the names in this succession confirmed by those in other parts of it. We could have no clearer or more satisfactory proof that we have recovered the key to the chamber of kings at Karnak.

The 11th dynasty, then, of the kings of Egypt was called Theban in the lists, because the founder of Thebes was one of the monarchs that compose it. The Greek copies of the lists make it to have consisted of 16 kings and AMENEMES. It is, however, evident, both from the monuments, and the duration of the dynasty in the list itself, that 16 is a mistake for 6. The list of it from the monuments stands thus:—

DYNASTY XI.

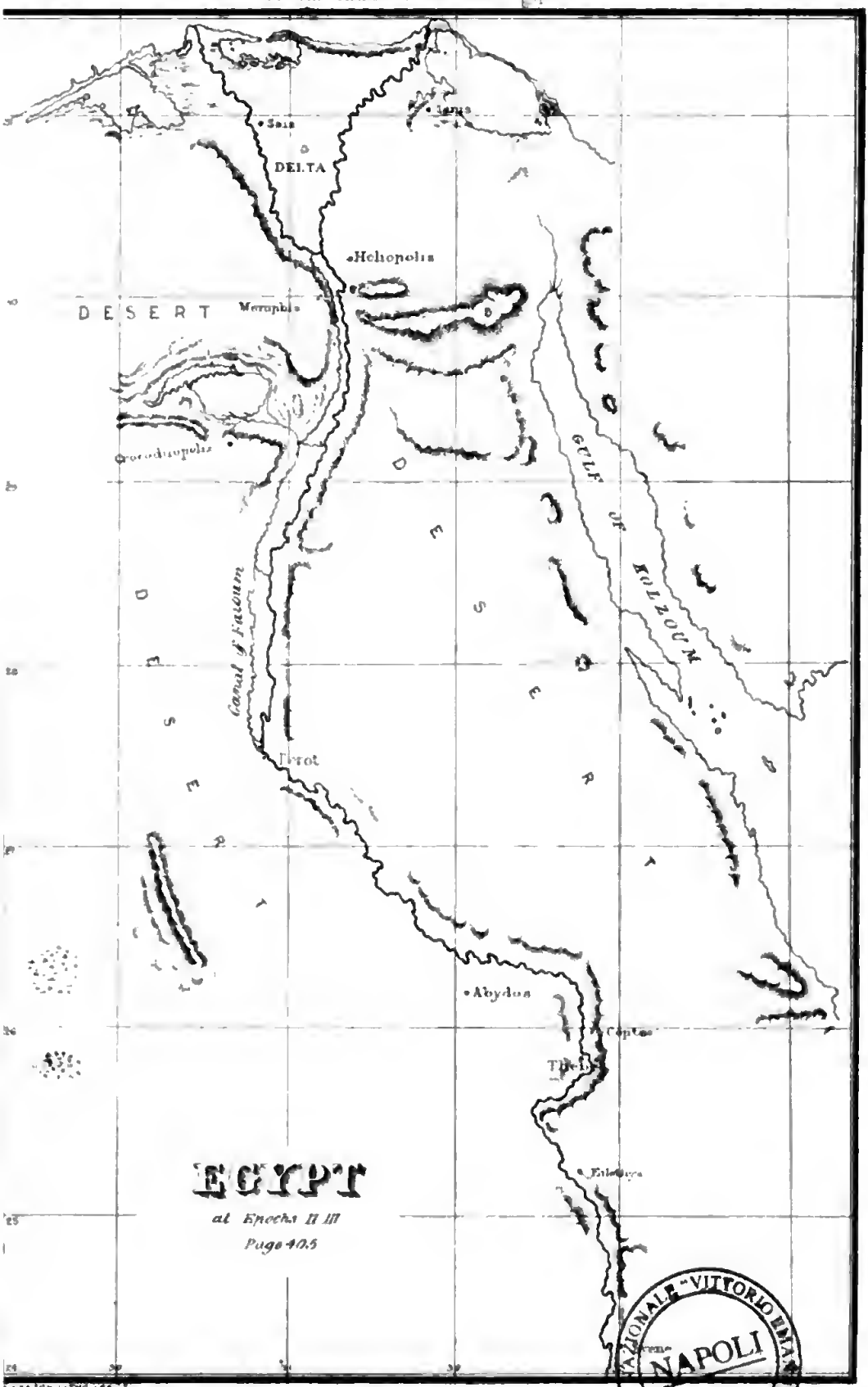
1 SENUCHERES, founded Coptos.
2 MENTHESUPHIS, founded Thebes.
3 NUBCHERES.
4 USERCHERES II., made treaty with ONNOS at Memphis.
5 NESTERES (his son), took Heliopolis from ONNOS.
6 ACHTHOES (brother and successor of NESTERES), founded Eilethya and Crocodilopolis.
7 AMENEMES (his son).

The first 6 kings are said in the lists, where they are nameless, to have reigned for 43 years only, and AMENEMES after them for 16 years. The arrangement clearly indicates that the accession of AMENEMES was an epoch in the history of Egypt, and such we have found to be the case. The 43 is, most probably, a

mistake for 143, like the 16 for 6 in the number of kings. The synchronism of the visit of Abram to Egypt with the treaty of ACHTHOES, gives 125 years for the duration of the dynasty, which only differs 18 years from this our amendment of the date in the lists. In calculations like these, where all the elements are vague, through historical circumstances, such close approximations are of the utmost value. Abram was also some years in Egypt, as is evident from the account of his sojourn there (Gen. xii. 14—20; xiii. 1, 2). Some of these years must, of course, be added to the latter number, which will further diminish the difference. We take the sum, therefore, at 133 years, which we give with much confidence that there is no material difference in it either way.

From the death of MENCHERES, then, to the accession of AMENEMES on the death of his father, there had elapsed 133 years; add to this the 16 years of his sole reign, and it follows that the 11th dynasty and the anarchy that accompanied the war for the limbs of Osiris lasted for 149 years, or thereabout; and that the death of AMENEMES occurred about 470 years after the foundation of the monarchy by MENES.

With the 11th dynasty ended the first volume of Manetho's History of Egypt. The period of the history we still propose reviewing will, in like manner, end with his second volume. The arrangement is in every sense a convenient one. A new order of things altogether, political and social, took place at both epochs; so that the division is natural, and in no degree forced or artificial. We therefore adopt it.



BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE III" NAPOLI

Pub[d] by Binns & Goodwin Bath

The facts of history we have ascertained must now be collected.

Manetho's summary of the first volume of his history gives us 192 kings, reigning for 2300 years, in the course of it.

Eratosthenes in his canon makes 31 kings to have reigned for 842 years in the same interval.

The Laterculus of Syncellus makes at this period 22 kings from MENES to have reigned for 608 years.

Our own summary of it stands thus:—

		Probable duration.
EPOCH I.		
DYNASTY I. MEMPHITE.	DYNASTY II. MEMPHITE.	
1 MENES.	3 CECHOUS.	
2 SEMEMPSES.	4 RAOPHIS.	200
DYNASTY III. MEMPHITE.		
5 ACHES.		
6 SEPHURIS.		
EPOCH II.		
DYNASTY IV. MEMPHITE.	DYNASTY V. ABYDAN.	
7 SORIS.	12 USERCHERES I.	
8 SUPHIS.	13 TATCHERES.	121
9 NU-SUPHIS.	14 SEPHRES.	
10 NEPHERCHERES.	15 MENCHERES.	
11 SESOCHRIS.		
EPOCH III.		
DYNASTY VI. MEMPHITE.	DYNASTY IX. SEBENNYTE.*	DYNASTY XI. THEBAN.
16 CHERES.	19 IMEPHTHIS.	20 SENUCHERES.
17 SENTIS.		21 MENTHESUPHIS.
18 ONNOS.		22 NUBECHERES. 149
		23 USERCHERES II.
		24 NESTERES.
		25 ACHTHOES.
		26 AMENEMES.

* Or Heracleopolitan.

Our search has, therefore, produced the hieroglyphic names of 26 kings, and the lapse of 470 years. So that only 5 kings are wanting to complete the canonical number for the period contained in the first volume of Manetho's History. These may, probably enough, have been the Heracleopolitans or Sebennytes of the 9th dynasty, only one name of which we have been able to recognize. The grounds and proofs of the several dates we have amply detailed. We present the sum of them, as fully justifying the hesitation which we avowed at the outset of our work, to receive implicitly any of the dates for the duration of the monarchy chronicled by the Egyptian priesthood.

This recovered history of the first colonization of the valley of the Nile is not without its use or its interest in the annals of mankind. It tells how the ancient monarchies were first planted. We trace beneath it the cares, the fears, the designs, of the leaders under whose standards the Mizraites first marched westward before the mysterious impulse that drove them forth from the fertile plains of the Euphrates. They fled before it, nor dared to tarry on the grassy banks of Jordan, nor in the shady valleys of Judah, nor by the waters of Siloah, that flow softly. The voice of a greater than man sounded in their ears. The terror of an invisible power awed their spirits, and they dared not disobey. They braved the perils and privations of a journey over an unknown desert, before the same fearful impulse; nor were they allowed to rest, until they had reached the uttermost borders of the land which He who pursued after them had destined them

to populate. How long this fearful wandering lasted we know not. It cannot have been for any protracted period, for they brought to their new land, perfectly unimpaired, all those arts of design and construction which can only be practised by men in settled habitations.

The Mizraites arrived in great numbers, and the barren inhospitable nature of the desert on which lay their first settlements compelled them to diffuse themselves over an extended line of country. Their border reached from Tanis, by the Great Sea, to the Wady Meghara, round the head of the Gulf of Suez. They had evidently been dwellers in cities in the land whence they came. Proficient in architecture, masonry, and sculpture, the shepherd, his life, his calling, his pursuits, was from the first an abomination to the Egyptian.

The founding of Memphis by MENES was an early event in the archives of this infant colony. The history we have read from the monuments proves this through a singular analogy. We have found RAOPHIS, all but the cotemporary of the proto-monarch, advancing the bounds of Egypt southward, while Memphis was being built, and the canals for its irrigation excavated. In the succeeding epoch, while SUPHIS and SEPHRES extended the waters of the Nile over the plains to the north of Memphis, which the canals and mounds of MENES had called into fertility, USERCHERES and MENCHERES pursued the work of colonization to the southward, founded Abydos, and commenced the excavation of the Canal of the Eagle. The completion of

this noble work, and the further southward extension of Egypt as far as Eilethya, were in like manner simultaneously proceeding during the last epoch we have considered. We cannot err in assuming that MENES himself had set the precedent thus rigidly followed by all his successors, that the founding of Memphis was an event in the beginning of the history of Egypt, and that the building of the cities of the Delta was in progress at the same time.* The circumstance that MENES introduced the new god Phtha into the mythology, without incurring the obloquy which the same act drew down upon the memory of his successor, ACHTHOES, shows the same fact just as clearly. MENES was one of the young men of the first immigration. He crossed the Nile and founded Memphis, while the fathers of the clan were engaged upon the construction of the religion of the future kingdom, upon the framing of a written system, and upon the invention of a language.

With MENES, therefore, the history of the tribe of Mizraim, and of Egypt, begins really as well as formally. There was no pre-historic period in the annals of the monarchy. The Egregori, the Manes, and Bitus,† must return to the gods and demi-gods that precede

* In the Laterculus of Syncellus, Menes and Mizraim are the same.

† *Above*, p. 199. See also Lepsius, *Einleitung* pp. 410—502; in which most learned investigation he shows that all the dates appended to the reigns of these shadows are Sothic cycles, that is, they are multiples or parts of the number 1460, and therefore invented by the mathematicians of Alexandria. This last inference is an inevitable one.

them in the Greek lists. They are mere *kompologies;* mythic fables, invented by the Alexandrian apologists of Egypt in the days of the Ptolemies and Roman emperors. The only true pre-historic period is that of the emigration from Shinar.

The consummate skill of these first immigrants in all works of construction, their wisdom to plan, their courage to undertake, and their perseverance to complete, engineering operations before which modern science shrinks in dismay, have already amply engaged us. Yet another proof of their high intellectual culture has flowed from our survey of their monumental history. The great danger that beset all the nations of the primeval world on their first planting, was division. This arose out of their fundamental axiom of government, which was that of paternity. So indissolubly was the idea of all authority linked with it, that the terms "father" and "king" were nearly convertible. Every father was, *de facto*, king in his own family, and hence, *à fortiori*, every founder of a new city was likewise the king of it. In this originated the confederacies (or rivalries, as the case might be) of petty kingdoms, into which Canaan and all the rest of the primitive Hamite nations seem to have been divided; a form of existence utterly fatal to permanency or national prosperity. The sons of Japhet himself had long to struggle with the same difficulty. The tuneful numbers of one of the descendants of Javan have perpetuated to this day his lamentations over the divisions and feuds among his own brethren, at a period not far distant from the one before us. And

while the power to appreciate and enjoy intellectual beauty shall remain with the human family, the songs of Homer shall never die. That this same tendency to division existed in Old Egypt, we have the incontrovertible evidence of the kingdom, split into two or three independent and rival pretensions, upon three occasions in the course of the interval we have reviewed.

The great sagacity of the design of the first founders, framed expressly to meet this exigency, we have likewise pointed out. It was a wonderful thought to unite all Egypt into one in the bonds of religion, making the local gods of each city the gods also of all Egyptians, and imposing as a sacred obligation upon every individual in the land the attendance on their general assemblies.

The same forethought and wisdom marked the changes introduced by MENCHERES, whereby the old gods of Lower Egypt were brought out under new hypostases in the upper country; thus making the planting of a new city, not the sowing likewise of a new element of discord, but the forging of a new link of harmony; and the extension of the borders of Egypt, not the diffusion and weakness of the monarchy, but its concentration and inward strength.

In these two consummate acts of statesmanship lay the whole secret of the greatness of Ancient Egypt among the nations of the primitive world.

The influence of religion over the minds of these first settlers will not fail to have been noticed in our history of them. A deep, overwhelming sense of the

power of the unseen and supernatural evidently possessed them throughout, and modified their whole course of action. The dread of their gods haunted them day and night. In public and in private transactions this motive was always the uppermost. Every monument they have left upon the earth tells, trumpet-tongued, the tale of their firm, implicit, ever-present conviction, that there were existences around them greater than man, and that his destinies, here and hereafter, were in their hands altogether. Is this conviction natural to men? Or is this the state of mind in which the dispersion of an old civilization sends its sons forth to seek a new and distant home? These are the only circumstances which modern philosophy allows to have had any share in modifying the mental impressions of the first colonists of Egypt. From the idea of any other influence she turns with ineffable contempt. Yet does either of them approach the difficulty, much less account for it? We have no fear of the answer of any unbiassed thinker.

There is another authority, it is true, whose teachings solve the riddle completely, for it declares that these first settlers had lived for some generations in the midst of miraculous displays of the power of their Creator. The attempt, however, to insinuate its tradition in the ears polite of modern archaic science and rigid induction we know to be utterly in vain. There may, nevertheless, be readers of our pages who will be disposed to accept of the solution, and also to infer that this conviction of an unseen hereafter may be a symptom neither of infantile weakness nor of anile

decrepitude, but an instinct implanted in man from the first, and based upon his final destination. Such thinkers, moreover, will not lightly dismiss the circumstance, that its possession of the whole minds of these Mizraite settlers in Egypt, and even its perversion by them into the follies of their most gross idolatry, neither crippled their personal energies, nor cramped their intellectual powers; but that, notwithstanding, they thought out the wise maxims, and wrought out the great works, upon which arose the most enduring, and one of the greatest, monarchies of the earth. They will found upon this also another inference, and a practical one. Discerning the value of the principle itself, even through its wretched distortion by these Mizraites, they may possibly arrive at the conclusion, that to the modern statesman, and man of the world, also, as well as to the mere *devôt*, "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

Prudence and foresight, by no means inferior to that which has already appeared, may likewise be discerned in the titles and emoluments enjoyed by the princes of Old Egypt. They were altogether the gifts of Pharaoh. It is doubtful that anything was hereditary. Even the tenure of their estates seems to have been contingent upon the pleasure of the reigning king. By this arrangement a prolific element of disunion in other states was altogether avoided. The nobles of Egypt never competed for the crown; but, from the foundation of the monarchy to its extinction, the kings of all pretensions were descendants, directly or collaterally, of the family of MENES. Even the foreign

usurpers we shall find to have acquired this relationship by marriage. In this remarkable circumstance the history of Egypt differs from that of any other nation that ever existed on the earth. This institution likewise was at the base of its stability and long endurance.

The power of the nobles of Egypt seems to have been at the greatest at the epoch we have now considered. In the later history we shall find it gradually dwindling away before the advancing influences of Pharaoh and the priesthood.

These particulars cannot be deemed either trifling or uninteresting; for they are the maxims of state upon which a kingdom was founded, which maintained itself in the foremost rank among the nations of the earth for very nearly 2000 years.

The history we have read is so intricate, owing to the number of cotemporary reigns and rival pretensions, that, notwithstanding our endeavours to write it clearly, a brief recapitulation here may not be unacceptable.

PERIOD I. The founding of the cities of Tanis, Bubastis, Heliopolis, and others in the eastern Delta; the discovery and working of the copper mines, by the Gulf of Suez. All these events seem to have occurred about the same time, and to have mutually influenced each other.

PERIOD II. MENES, the son of the first king of Tanis, crossed the Nile at the head of a party of adventurers, attacked and defeated the Phutim, who were forming settlements on the western bank, and founded the city of Memphis. Shortly afterwards he converted his Phutite enemies into his subjects, by

marrying the daughter of the chief he had conquered, and by making Phut the local god of his new city. He seems, however, to have warred successfully with other tribes of the Phutim to the south and west during his whole reign, and to have employed the captives in his vast engineering operations. He had a long reign, and possibly many successors in Western or Upper Egypt.

At the same time, the colonization of the Delta was in rapid progress, and two of the kings of the eastern dynasty, cotemporary with MENES and his successors, also proceeded to the southernmost of his mounds, and there conquered and reclaimed tracts of country. Of these kings, CECHOUS seems to have acquired a territory to the northward of the mound, and RAOPHIS to the southward.

PERIOD III. The Phutim recovered Memphis from the descendants of MENES. They were expelled by SEPHURIS, or SORIS (who were probably father and son), with the aid of the eastern Pharaohs. With these two kings the two Egypts (*i.e.*, on both banks of the Nile), were united under one dominion.

PERIOD IV. SUPHIS and his successors, to SEPHRES, proceeded with the irrigation of the lands around Memphis and between the two mounds of MENES, while USERCHERES penetrated the valley 200 miles further south, and began to cut the Canal of the Eagle.

The Delta seems to have been subject to all these monarchs.

PERIOD V. MENCHERES dedicated the temple of the

city built by USERCHERES to Osiris, and named it Abydos. The war for the limbs of Osiris. Its consequences. Three pretensions to the throne of all Egypt; at Memphis the 6th dynasty, at Sebennytus the 9th, at Abydos (or Thebes) the 11th.

PERIOD VI. The treaty of USERCHERES II. at Abydos with ONNOS at Memphis. Marriage of the daughter of ONNOS with the son of USERCHERES, and thence the extinction of the Memphite pretension in the person of their son AMENEMES.

PERIOD VII. Pacification of the war for the limbs of Osiris by ACHTHOES, the son of USERCHERES. Heliopolis and Memphis in the possession of his son AMENEMES. The monarchy at this time (the commencement of the 12th dynasty) divided between two pretenders; the Theban, or Upper Egyptian, Pharaohs of the 12th dynasty, and the Sebennyte Pharaohs (soon afterwards called Shepherds), of the 10th.

The extent of Egypt, at this last period, was from Eilethya in the upper country to the sea-coast in the eastern Delta. Whether the settlements on the western or Bolbatine mouth had as yet proceeded further north than Sais is doubtful.

CHAPTER VIII.

MODES OF THOUGHT IN OLD EGYPT.—THE HIEROGLYPHIC SYSTEM.—ITS INGENUITY AND ITS DEFECTS.—THE MYTHIC SYSTEM.—THE IBIS AND THE APE.—STATE OF SOCIETY IN OLD EGYPT.—DOCTRINE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS.—ITS INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY.—THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.—MUMMIFICATION.—ITS PURPOSE AND SUPPOSED RESULTS.—DESCENT OF THE SOUL INTO HADES.—THE JUDGMENT-HALL.—THE SOUL'S DISAVOWAL OF SIN.—RETURN TO THE BODY AFTER 3000 YEARS.—EXTENSIVENESS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW.—ABSENCE OF FAMILY AFFECTION.—SOCIAL LIFE A SYSTEM OF SLAVERY.—THE CHASE.—A BANQUET.—TOMB OF PRINCE CEPHRENES.—LANDS OF PRINCE MOURHET.—DOMESTICATED ANIMALS.—THE HYENA.—DIVISION OF TIME.

THE pacification of the war for the members of Osiris introduced into Egypt a new phase quite as distinctly marked in her customs and modes of thought as was the epoch of MENCHERES in her religion and history. What, therefore, we have yet further to say regarding these old and primitive times, their manners and customs, will be most conveniently said here.

The part of our task that still remains to be accomplished resembles that which we have already fulfilled in the uncertain and often inconsiderable premises upon which our deductions must frequently be founded, and the liability to mistake to which this circumstance gives

rise. We shall, however, follow here also the cautious and exact course which we have there prescribed to ourselves, and spare no trouble or research in our pursuit of that which may be presented with some show of confidence as actual history.

The two sections into which our present subject divides itself are: first, the modes of thought; second, the state of society; that prevailed in this Old Egypt, whose history we have so unexpectedly recovered.

I. MODES OF THOUGHT IN OLD EGYPT. We have already been compelled to enter largely into this question by the discussions that have preceded it.

The first settlers in the valley of the Nile were civilized men, with their mental powers considerably developed. Their graphic system is an extraordinary phenomenon in the intellectual history of man. It is the result of the simultaneous and combined effort of many minds working upon understood and acknowledged principles towards definite ends. Those principles were, the initial phonetics, the determinatives, and the symbols. These ends were, a system of writing, whereby all the words necessary to a language should have an expression intelligible to the inventors, in characters which were to be the pictures of material objects; also, the symmetrical arrangement of these characters, so that they should at once decorate and illustrate the constructions on which they were inscribed, serving the double purpose of inscriptions and architectural ornaments.

We have before stated* that the system was invented

* Above, p. 48.

by a company of men of the same generation, and was neither the slow growth of circumstances, nor the expedient dictated by the necessities of a society gradually advancing from barbarism to civilization. This our conclusion is built upon the following grounds.

1. The principles of its construction are invariable. They apply with undeviating uniformity to every group in the language. . All the initials are symbols, and all the determinatives pictures, either direct or indirect, of the ideas they express. The determinative of species is a direct picture. The determinative of kind is an indirect picture; that is to say, it is a hint at some prominent quality or peculiarity of the thing or idea represented. We can appeal to the entire hieroglyphic lexicon in proof of the accuracy of this definition. Perfect regularity like this would not, we submit, be possible, had the system been of slow and gradual construction.

2. Notwithstanding the ingenuity of its internal structure, no mode of writing has yet been interpreted which displays such an utter want of clearness and perspicuity. Its modes of expressing ideas are now well understood. We also derive from other sources many further aids to its elucidation; but, nevertheless, the deciphering of a hieroglyphic text requires as strenuous an effort as the mind can well apply to it. This difficulty has been felt at all times, as is plainly shown by the two other modes of writing invented afterwards. The hieratic and demotic systems were designed to facilitate the reading of hieroglyphics, as well as to lighten the labour of writing them.

The hieroglyphic texts are frequently accompanied by hieratic and demotic transcriptions, which were added to render them comprehensible. They are not mere artificers' marks, as has been sometimes assumed. However ill these two modes of writing may succeed with modern interpreters, they were, nevertheless, the expedients of later times to render the old texts intelligible, and to make the system useful. They correspond exactly to the changes undergone in the course of ages by the Greek and other alphabets, which were dictated by the increasing intelligence and necessities of mankind.

Our inference from the obscurity of the hieroglyphic texts is an obvious one. This system of writing is not the result of a series of abortive attempts to represent words by pictures. Had it been so, it would merely have been the last of a long succession of changes. Its inconveniences and imperfections would have pressed the necessity of further change upon every succeeding generation of men that used it; and religion, which always seeks for precedent, far from opposing it, would have found a sacred prescription in the former changes; so that further variations would inevitably have reduced it to a condition better adapted for general utility.

3. Though the hieroglyphic writings go back to periods of such remote antiquity, no such changes appear, when texts of different epochs are compared together.

It would not be easy to construct a stronger argument than this upon archeological data.

The symbols employed in this graphic system, afford

some insight into the modes of thought that prevailed in Old Egypt. We have elsewhere explained* that many of them were merely the first impressions of natural objects upon the minds of strangers, never corrected by after experience, because they were immediately made a part of religion.

There was, besides this, in their view of the physical world around them, generally a singular confusion of the seen with the unseen, of the natural with the supernatural, with which we, who are now upon the earth, can in no degree sympathize.

Their notions regarding the invisible world and the way thither, well illustrate this tone of mind. They supposed that the Nile and the sun met together at the western horizon, and there plunged into an abyss or cave, which led to the invisible world, or place of separate spirits. Traversing this region during the night, the Nile and the sun again rose together to the upper and visible world from the cave of the east. These notions seem to have originated in the circumstance that the whole of the desert to the westward of the first settlement was a marsh when the immigrants arrived in Egypt; and that, as the sun and the river seemed to them to sink down together, they assumed that appearance to be a reality.

The symbol of the soul was the white ibis, or crane (*ardea intermedia*), which is to this day very abundant in Lower Egypt. The ministers of vengeance in their Hades were apes. We feel persuaded that these notions also originated in the same strange mystifica-

* Above, p. 214, *et seq.*

tion of natural objects. They had conjectured, or been taught, that the soul after death went underground. They assumed that it went thither in the bark of the setting sun, and together with the Nile. The travellers who first ventured to explore the pathless marshes to the westward of the primitive settlements, would doubtless see on all sides of them flocks of these beautiful but silent ghost-like birds, standing motionless, and apparently pensive, on the sand-flats. It was a probable mistake, in minds thus predisposed, to imagine that these were the souls of the departed, waiting until the completion (probably) of certain funeral ceremonies gave them the power to descend with the sun into Hades. The groves of tamarisk and other trees which now abound in the Delta, would then be there also, upon every spot sufficiently raised above the level of the river to be not absolutely marshy; and in their branches droves of the common Barbary ape would make their habitations. These animals abounded in Ancient Egypt.

The use of fire-arms has pretty nearly extirpated them in modern times; so that they are now scarcely to be seen in the valley north of Senaar. The moppings and mowings, the shrieks and chatterings, with which these bold and hideous creatures would greet the first intruders upon those dreary solitudes, would be likely enough to suggest to them the idea of ministers of vengeance.

It appears to us that the origin of the whole of these fabulous particulars regarding the state after death, must be sought in the circumstances that surrounded

the first settlers, and in the state of mind in which they observed them. Their understandings were prostrated and grovelled in the dust before the omnipotent and terrible Unseen, and their morbid imaginations compounded the natural phenomena of their new country into a fearful vision of disembodied spirits and demons.

Yet have we just been praising the ingenuity and mental acuteness displayed by the same company of immigrants in the invention of their graphic system. We had before noticed, and with still greater admiration, their mastery of all the arts of life, the higher as well as the commoner; and, more than these, their sagacity and forethought in framing the maxims of state, through which their monarchy lived longer than any other kingdom that has yet been upon the earth. So that the development of their intellectual powers and personal energies was in no degree retarded by this sense of the unseen Omnipotent that haunted and tormented them incessantly. Yea, though, in their ignorance of the divine nature, they perverted this fear into an idolatry so grossly ridiculous, that

> "E'en the poor Indian, whose untutored mind,
> Sees God in clouds and hears him in the wind,"

would be ashamed to worship at its shrines; yet have they left upon the earth, notwithstanding, such proofs of wisdom, and forethought, and skill, that the most gifted among the sons of men may well look back upon them, and rejoice that he is of the same blood and mental constitution as the Mizraites.

This strange combination of so much knowledge with so much ignorance, of such deep wisdom with such sheer folly, forms the grand characteristic of the modes of thought that prevailed in primitive Egypt.

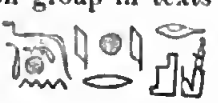
II. State of Society in Old Egypt. Perhaps the most powerful agency whereby the intercourses of society are modified and restrained, is to be found in the belief of existence after death. It may be safely stated, that where the reception of this doctrine, with its rewards and punishments hereafter, is full and implicit, there the moral and social obligations exercise a fair influence upon the mass of mankind, and the external decencies, wherein alone human society can exist coherently, are generally regarded. Where, on the other hand, this belief becomes dim, and its power enervated, from any cause, whether external, as in the case of the increasing luxury of the old empires, or internal, as on the occurrence of some change in religious sentiment, like Mohammedanism, the moral ties which bind society experience a corresponding relaxation. To complete our survey, where this doctrine is so greatly obscured as to become altogether inoperative, as with barbarous tribes, or where it is deliberately rejected, as in a melancholy instance not very remote from our own times, there the social bonds are loosed altogether, the law of the strongest becomes the only rule of action, and men perpetrate upon each other acts of violence, and rapine, and wrong, upon which the beasts of the forest might gaze with astonishment.

This most influential doctrine was fully and clearly

understood in Ancient Egypt. Of this we have the unanswerable evidence of their own formal statement of it on cotemporary monuments. The truth that man will be judged after death was brought into Egypt by the first settlers, and universally received by their posterity.

The proof of this is a direct one. The group  or  is of absolutely universal occurrence in the tombs of Ghizeh, as the epithet of all the deceased persons who were buried there. We have already explained* that its last character represented a portion of the ribs of an ox. Its sound, or phonetic value, is interpreted by the sieve, *sh*. It was, moreover, the hieroglyphic expression of the word *shi*, in Coptic, ϣⲓ, "to weigh." Grouped with the syllable *ma*, or *am* in the instance before us (*amshi*), it represented another word which also still remains in the Coptic texts, ⲁⲙϣⲓ, "a balance." The evident meaning of the group, therefore, we take to be, "weighed in the balance," that is, "tried and justified." In these most ancient tombs it is generally written thus:  that is, "tried [weighed] by all [the gods]."† This epithet, therefore, is a palpable allusion to the doctrine that after death the actions of the life

* Alphabet, No. 148.

† It is a not uncommon group in texts of later date in exactly the same association, and  with the same meaning. For example, the phrase reads "the weighed of Osiris, says." It is copied from the case of the Leeds Mummy, and commences the whole of the invocations inscribed on both sides of the coffin.

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would be weighed, and that the fate of the deceased in the invisible world depended upon the issue of that weighing.

The doctrine that Osiris or Mizraim was the king and judge of the dead we have elsewhere explained to belong to the very earliest times. The Busirides or tombs of Osiris were, therefore, erected in the cemeteries of all the first-founded cities.

The history of the reign of MENCHERES leaves no room to doubt that with him began the collection into one book of all these primitive traditions regarding the future state, which long afterwards issued in the form of that most extraordinary of all ancient compositions, "The Book of the Dead." So that its elementary doctrines were believed in primitive Egypt, and must therefore be explained here.

The many copies of this book which are still extant all belong to recent periods of the history of Egypt. The earliest of them was written in the times of the 26th dynasty, 700 B.C., that is, nearly 1500 years after the epoch now under consideration.

The bulk of them are much more modern even than this; and if we compare them together, it becomes apparent that the doctrine in the book was constantly undergoing changes, and receiving additions. It is merely the skeleton of the vast and intricate system, the frame-work upon which the modern additions have accumulated, that can, with any show of probability, be cited as the tradition of the first settlers, and the belief of Old Egypt.

In our brief account of the Book of the Dead, we

shall be compelled to draw upon the reader's confidence in our interpretations, which at the outset we endeavoured to establish. It is not possible to give, and reason upon, the meaning of an intricate composition, and, at the same time, to enter into the analysis of each group, and to justify our reading of it.

We use the admirably correct transcription of the Turin Papyrus,* published by Lepsius, scrupulously referring to his numbers; so that the students of the subject may have the opportunity of judging of our translations for themselves. We regret that the somewhat unguarded statement of the Chev. Bunsen, that no man living can read an entire sentence of the Book of the Dead,† has occasioned the necessity of such an appeal. Much in this most abstruse composition is very obscure, and, like the Critias of Plato, will probably always remain so; but much is also known, and as fully and satisfactorily as if it were written in any other ancient language.

The radical doctrine of this system seems to have been, that by the process of mummification the body became perfectly pure and an impersonation of the deified Osiris. According to the myth,‡ the scattered members of Osiris were collected by his wife Isis, and his sister and concubine Nephthys, and swathed as a mummy at Abydos. This mummified Osiris became the prototype of all other mummies. The fable was

* A copy of the Book of the Dead, written early in the days of the Ptolemies, or just before their epoch. It is more than 100 feet long.

† Eg. Pl., vol. i. ‡ *Ubi supra.*

invented long after the age of MENCHERES, though upon facts then occurring. It shows, however, that the operation of embalming was closely connected with the worship of Osiris. Such is also the doctrine of the Book of the Dead. The mummy is entitled everywhere, "the habitation of Osiris." It is carried to the tomb in the boat or sledge of Osiris. The symbols of the god precede and follow it in procession. The high priest offers incense to the mummy, and the inferior priests and priestesses sing the praises of Osiris, as they attend his consecrated idol to the tomb.* The soul was supposed to sleep or become extinct during the 40 days that were occupied by the process of embalming. It then revived again, and still remained indissolubly with the body which it accompanied in the form the man had borne on earth to the tomb, where it received its liberation. This blessing is prayed for in the following passage:† "O ye liberators‡ of the souls of them that are built into a house of Osiris [*i.e.*, mummified], liberate the soul of Macrobius [*the deceased in the Turin Copy*], whom ye have made a house of Osiris. He sees as ye see, he hears as ye hear, he stands as ye stand, he sits as ye sit." The fates both of body and soul are clearly indicated in this passage. The body is a consecrated image of Osiris, going in procession to be placed in its shrine, where it exercised all the functions of a god. The soul is still haunting

* Todtenbuch, pl. i. ii., *vignette*. † Pl. i. § 1, columns 10—12.

‡ *Stgn*, Coptic ⲥⲧⲱⲛ, "to free," "to thrust forth." Isis and Nephthys are the goddesses thus addressed.

it, but awaits its liberation, which is accomplished when the body has reached its destination, and lies down in its house of repose. On the arrival of the mummy, and its deposit in the tomb, the soul is directed to pay acts of adoration to Ra, or Phra, the rising sun, and to Athom, the setting sun.* This last is implored to open "the gates in the solar mountains that close the eave of the west;"† an expression, the explanation of which must be sought in the series of vignettes that, in all transcriptions, occupy the entire breadth of the papyrus, at the conclusion of this prayer to Athom. In the uppermost of these pictures, the soul of the deceased enters the bark of the sun in the 12th hour of the day. In the second, the disc of the sun, having just descended below the horizon, is about to pass the portals of the west, which are opened by the male and female guardians presiding over them. In the third of these pictures, the orb of day has entered the cave, and is received into the arms of Athom, his human impersonation, while eight apes, standing on the rocky ledges of the cavern, either worship him, or shriek forth the impurities of the soul that accompanies him. In the fourth picture, the soul having arrived at the world of spirits, which in Egypt is the world underground, adores the souls of his deceased ancestors with incense and libations (*see Plate*).

The adventures of the soul in Hades are detailed in the part of the Book of the Dead that immediately follows. They consist of various transmigrations into the forms of many divinities, all of them of the family

* Todt. pl. vi. † *Idem*, § 18, cols. 44, 45.



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NAPOLI

DESCENT OF THE SOUL INTO HADES.

of Osiris. This god is styled "the son of the sun",* "the lord of the cave of the west,"† and "the soul of the sun."‡ The disembodied spirit still navigates a river which represents the nocturnal path of the sun. The transmigrations and other adventures of the soul, however, in this part of the Book of the Dead, are in themselves very intricate, and are therefore foreign to the modes of thought which prevailed in remote periods. They are, moreover, constantly associated with gods of the Osirian family, of whose existence not a trace is to be found on any monument of this primitive age, or long afterwards. We cannot, therefore, assume that they belong to his era without doing the utmost violence to probability. That the soul had a journey to make when it arrived in Hades, that the path it had to follow was the nocturnal course of the sun, that it had many ablutions to perform and changes to undergo, preparatory to its purification, and that Osiris was the presiding divinity over them, are the only facts which can be assumed with anything like confidence to have been taught in these times.

Another doctrine appears in this part of the Book of the Dead, which may also have been there from the beginning. Sinful deeds polluted the body, sinful words the soul. Osiris is the purifier and justifier of the *works* of the dead, and Thoth, or Hermes, of their *words*. This doctrine, however, exists in the Book of the Dead only.§ No trace of it occurs on any monument of the oldest epochs.

* Pl. vii., § 17, col. 7. † Col. 8. ‡ Col. 9.
§ Pl. i., § 1, col. 3.

The soul at length reached the great hall in which the judge of the dead held his terrible assize. Before him stood the balance in which the heart of man must be weighed against the divine justice. The dead were instructed to make a deprecatory address to the divinities that presided over this hall. They had also a second deprecation, addressed to the forty-two avengers, who sat on one side of the hall with their knives ready to inflict torments upon those that failed at the balance. This part of the myth cannot be traced to the old kingdom. The sins disavowed, however, evidently belong to the primitive tradition.

To the gods of the Hall of Judgment, the dead made the following disavowal.

1. I have neither done any sin, nor omitted any duty to any man.
2. I have committed no uncleanness.
3. I have not prevaricated at the seat of justice.
4. I have not spoken lightly.
5. I have done no shameful thing.
6. I have not omitted certain ceremonies.*
7. I have not blasphemed with my mouth.
8. I have not perverted justice.
9. I have not acted perversely.
10. I have not shortened the cubit.
11. I have not done that which is abominable to the gods.
12. I have not sullied my own purity.
13. I have not made men to hunger.
14. I have not made men to weep.
15. I have done no act of rapine.
16. I have not accused of rapine falsely.
17. I have not revived an ancient falsehood before the face of men.

* I do not well understand this deprecation.

18. I have not forged the deeds of sluices, houses, or lands.
19. I have not forged any of the divine images.
20. I have not withheld the seven linen garments due to the priests.
21. I have not committed adultery.
22. I have not polluted the purity of my divine land (*i.e.*, my tomb).
23. I have not been avaricious.
24. I have not forged signet rings.
25. I have not cut down in my mother's land (*i.e.*, my maternal inheritance) the timber that grows therein.
26. I have not falsified the weights of the balance.
27. I have not withheld milk from the mouths of the infants.
28. I have not driven away the flocks from their pasturage.
29. I have not netted [the] ducks [of the Nile] illegally.
30. I have not caught [the] fishes [of the Nile] illegally.
31. I have not [unlawfully] pierced the bank of the river when it was increasing.
32. I have not separated for myself [clandestinely] a channel (*lit.*, arm) from the river when it was subsiding.
33. I have not extinguished the perpetual lamp (*lit.*, hourly lamp).
34. I have not added anything to any of the sacred books.
35. I have not driven off any of the sacred cattle.
36. I have not stabbed the god (*i.e.*, sacred animal), when he comes forth [from his shrine].*

In the second deprecation to the forty-two avengers, the deceased clears his conscience thus:—

1. I have done no sin of omission.
2. I have done no sin of transgression.
3. I have not changed the colour of my heart (been deceitful).
4. I have not stolen.
5. I have accused no man falsely with my mouth.
6. I have not forged signet rings.
7. I have not acted the hypocrite.
8. I have not stolen anything belonging to god.

* Todtenbuch, xlvi. 125, col. 1—11.

9. I have not lied.
10. I have not exposed my mother's nakedness.
11. I have not made men to weep.
12. I have not shaken off authority.
13. I have not been idle (*lit.*, fat).
14. I have not been a glutton.
15. I have not been a drunkard.
16. I have not slaughtered the sheep of god.
17. I have not made evil herbs to grow.
18. I have not transgressed in the herbs of the waters.*
19. I have not been a listener.
20. I have not been a babbler.
21. I have not made a fool of any one.
22. I have not committed the sin of Sodom.
23. I have not defiled myself.
24. I have done no violence.
25. I have not been rapacious (a drunkard) † (*see* 15).
26. I have not made mischief (*lit.*, kindled fire with my month).
27. I have not put lies in the place of truth (*lit.*, month of truth).
28. I have reviled no one.
29. I have not put forth my arm to do wrong.
30. I have not oppressed the weak.
31. I have not [devised] the overthrow [of others] in my heart.
32. I have not shorn the wool of the sheep of god.
33. I have not multiplied words in speaking.
34. I have not changed the customs; neither have I enacted foreign abominations.
35. I have not reviled the face of the king; neither have I reviled the face of my father.
36. I have not brushed the face of the waters [with the bucket at a forbidden time].
37. I have not uttered boasting words.
38. I have not reviled god.

* *i.e.*, in sowing them at the wrong season.

† The same word is used in both disavowals, but with very different senses. In 15 it represents the Coptic word ϯϩⲓ, "drunken." In the present case it stands for the Coptic word ⲧⲟⲩϩⲟ, "adding to," "greedy," "rapacious." The two ideas are interchangeable.

39. I have not feigned any divine thing (*i.e.*, the divine flatus, or inspiration); neither have I defiled the purity of my own person.

40. I have not made the picture [of a god]; I have not set it up; I have not spoken to it.

41. I have not [defaced] the ancient pictures [of the gods]; neither have I withheld the seven linen garments from the priests.

42. I have not blasphemed god in my heart [*otherwise*,* to his face; *otherwise*, in any way]. †

At some time long after the judgment (3000 years, according to the Greek tradition), the justified soul returned to the earth, and resuscitated the body. This is the one remaining doctrine in the Book of the Dead which it is possible to trace to the first colonists.

The code of morals embodied in this system seems to include all the social obligations. The whole duty of man to his neighbour and to himself is fairly represented in it. A society thoroughly pervaded with a sense of these obligations, and the belief of their awful sanctions, as was Old Egypt,‡ would not fail to be peaceable and well ordered. Nor can there be a doubt that this acknowledgment was one of the causes of the prosperity and permanence of the monarchy.

The part of this system which professes to teach man's duty to God is of a very different character. Beyond the acknowledgment of the existence and the power of, and the reverence due to, the supreme being or beings, there is little that is true or real in the religious deprecations of the code. They comport

* These formular differences are very common in this transcription of the Book of the Dead.

† Todtenbuch, xlvii. 125, cols. 14—34.

‡ See the visit of Abram to Egypt (Gen. xii. 14—20).

so ill with the rest, and have so much the air of an effort to maintain spiritual authority, at a time when it was beginning to be questioned, that one cannot help suspecting that in their present form they are, for the most part, late interpolations. The element, however, which afterwards expanded into them, must have been deposited in the frame-work of the system.

We have already noticed on frequent occasions the vast influence which the supernatural and the religious exercised upon the minds of the first settlers in Egypt. The entire supremacy of these motives over the whole outer life of man has been abundantly exemplified. All their wars were religious wars, all the actions of their private life that they have left recorded were acts of religion. These circumstances render it probable that the inner life of man, the constitution and construction of society, would also be framed upon the religious maxims embodied in their code of morals. Let us, therefore, endeavour to ascertain what would be the state and tone of a society formed altogether upon the religious deprecations of this code, and then see if it be not that which the monuments show to have actually prevailed in primitive Egypt.

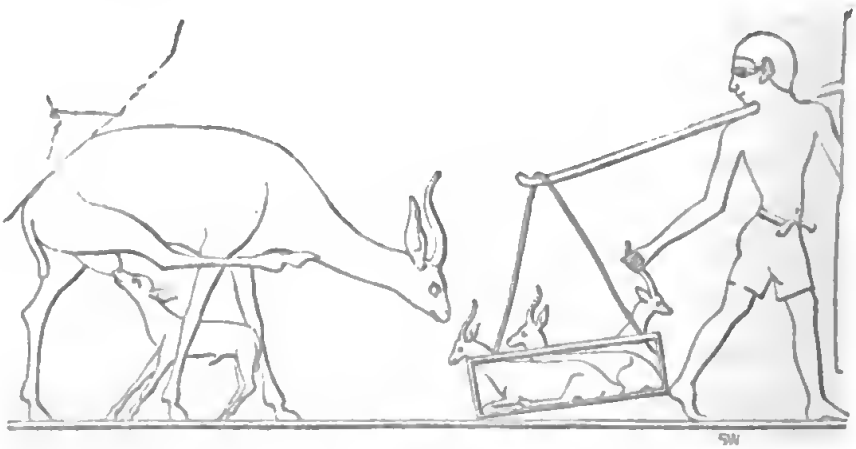
A large class of the transactions of every-day life, regarding which all other legislators have conceded individual liberty to man, were subjected by the Themis of Egypt to rigidly exact laws, written in sacred books, the violation of which was a crime against religion. Even the chase must be followed only according to law. The sheep or goats of god, so often mentioned,

were gazelles, antelopes, and other wild animals of the desert. The water-fowl and the fishes of the Nile were in like manner subjected to a code of game-laws, sanctioned by religion.

The amusements of life being thus fenced in, we are the less surprised to find that its business also largely called forth the solicitudes of these ancient legislators. The culture of the soil was circumscribed by laws and maxims of painfully stringent rigidity. The Nile, the great cause of the fertility of Egypt, was also the great god of their idolatry. To brush its sacred surface with the shadoof, or balance-bucket, at a forbidden time, was a crime equal in atrocity to that of reviling the face of a king or of a father. To have admitted its hallowed waters through the sluice one day before the time prescribed by the priests, or to have kept the flood-gate open one day beyond that on which the law directed it to be shut, was an offence for which the vengeance of god awaited the perpetrator in the state after death. The same fearful sanction fenced in the exact rules laid down for the breaking-up of the land, the admission of the waters, and the succession of the crops. The violation of them was a fearful moral offence, of which an account must be given hereafter.

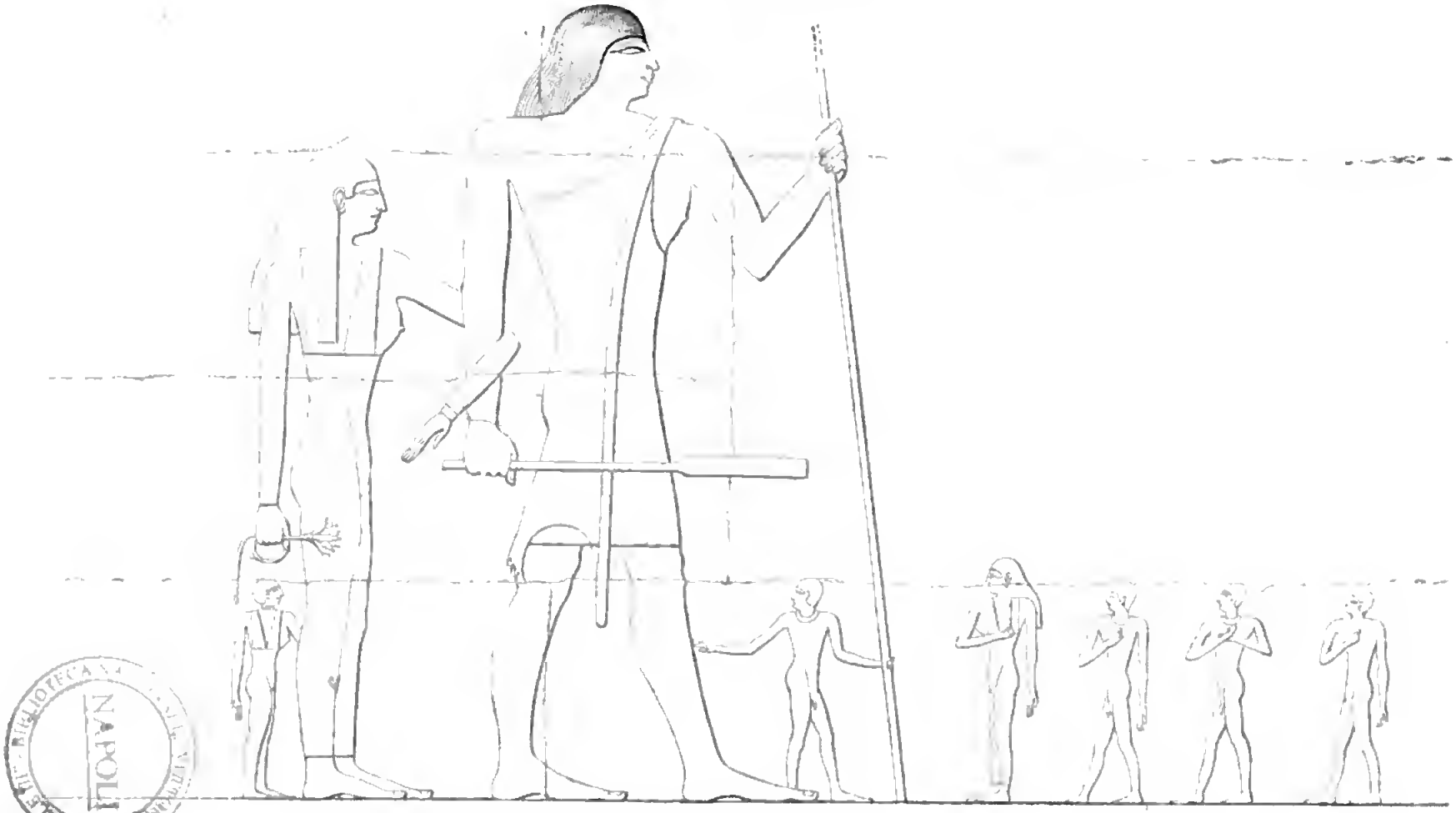
The tendency of a system like this, to check the flow of human progress, and to cast all institutions in the hard mould of prescription, is very evident. It is, moreover, abundantly illustrated by the remains of Old Egypt. Human beings there seem to have been bound together, not with the silken cords of love, but

with the iron hoops of subordination, throughout all society. The heads of the family are stern despots, at whose nod the whole household trembles. The only approach to familiarity, of which the tombs preserve any record, consists in the hand of the wife placed upon the husband's shoulder, or in one instance through his arm. The sons and daughters wait upon their parents at table, or bear burdens at their command, or perform the lowest menial offices. The father goes to the chase, attended by his sons, one bearing his bow, another holding the leash of his dogs, a third picking up the slaughtered game; but the son seldom presumes to share his father's amusement. No single sign of endearment, or affection, or of any emotion allied to them, is ever made visible in the stiff, cold portraits of the princes and princesses of Old Egypt.



TOMB 86, GHIZEH.

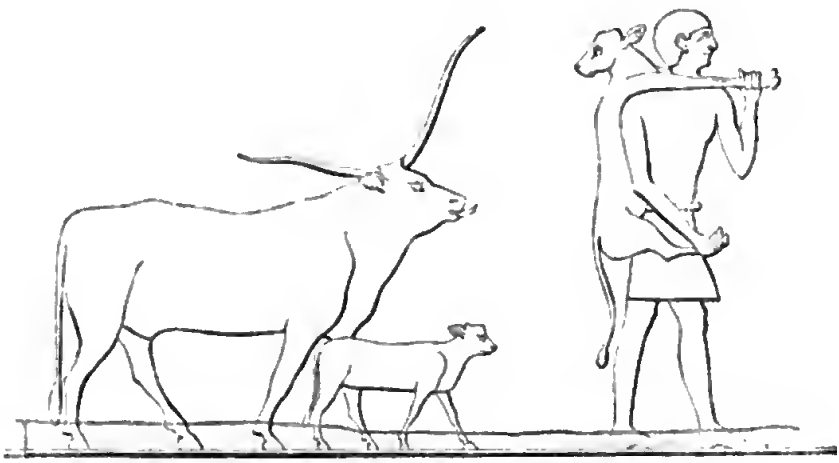
It would seem as if the artists of these fierce times sought in their pictures of the brute creation to give utterance to the natural feelings which the rigid pre-



BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VITTORIO EMANUELE NAPOLI

PRINCE AMUN-SEPS AND HIS FAMILY.

scription of these laws had gone so far to destroy in the human race. Nothing can be more exquisitely reproduced than the signs of affection towards their young evinced by the animals depicted in these tombs.



TOMB 47, GHIZEH.

The accompanying vignettes will abundantly illustrate the talent of the artists of Old Egypt, both to observe and depict that which was around them, and the feeling of the beauty of these expressions. The picture of a human family, by the same artists, which accompanies them (*see Plate*) brings out into bold and melancholy contrast the workings of the laws of God and of man in Old Egypt.

If even the intercourses between the members of the same household were of this frigid, unbending character, what must have been the condition of the labouring classes of society in these remote times? It is not easy to conceive of a more revolting picture of hopeless, degraded servitude, of stern despotism,

or of cruel tyranny, than is presented by these wonderful perpetuations of the life of man upon the earth 4000 years ago. Household and field slavery lay at the root of the entire social system of Old Egypt. There does not appear a single dependent in the house of any of the princes, who is not a slave. Over many of them is inscribed the writing of their perpetual servitude:  "slaves born in the house, in the books (*i.e.*, deeds, muniments) of his house for ever." The determinative of the group, *muse*, "bound man," "slave," is often a cord. It is here a deformed, dwarfish man. Many generations of abject drudgery, enforced with remorseless cruelty on both parents, had, doubtless, inflicted hereditary deformity upon their offspring. The butchers, cooks, and other performers of menial offices, seem all to have belonged to these most degraded classes, and are frequently represented with deformed heads, crooked legs, and other bodily defects. The field labourers, herdsmen, shepherds, and tenders of live stock generally, are also so inscribed, but they are free from personal deformity, an immunity for which they were indebted solely to the healthier nature of their occupation. Whether these performers of the drudgery of human existence in Old Egypt were originally slaves purchased of foreigners, or prisoners of war, does not appear in the tombs. As depicted there, their complexion and countenances are Egyptian.

Somewhat above these was a numerous class who attended upon the persons of the princes and nobles of Egypt and their families. The nurses of both sexes

are very conspicuous in the reliefs of some of the tombs as also belonging to this class. We must likewise refer to it the long train of attendants who accompanied the great men on all occasions on which they went forth, either for business or amusement. Individuals from this class, of both sexes, seem, moreover, to have been employed as overlookers or taskmasters, over the class below them. They are often represented bringing to the master of the household the produce of his several fields or plots of land, or of the labour of the other and inferior order of household slaves.

The class which appears to have ranked immediately above that of the personal attendants upon the great, consisted of the musicians, singers, dancers, posturers, tumblers, and prize-fighters, whose performances enlivened their festal hours. That these artists were very numerous in Ancient Egypt; that as the prosperity of the kingdom increased, the demand for them increased also; and that their performances were greatly varied, are the general facts regarding them which the tombs abundantly evidence. There is yet another circumstance which has been hitherto overlooked. They were all bond-slaves, kept for the amusement of their masters, and hired out by them for gain. The descriptions of these dancers have long been before the public.* We copy the annexed from the tomb of Ra-eses, merely for the purpose of showing the abject servility, the steady, fixed stare of the eye upon the despot, of these ill-fated wretches, as they go through the rounds of grimace which afford him amusement (*see next page*).

* See Rosellini and Wilkinson.

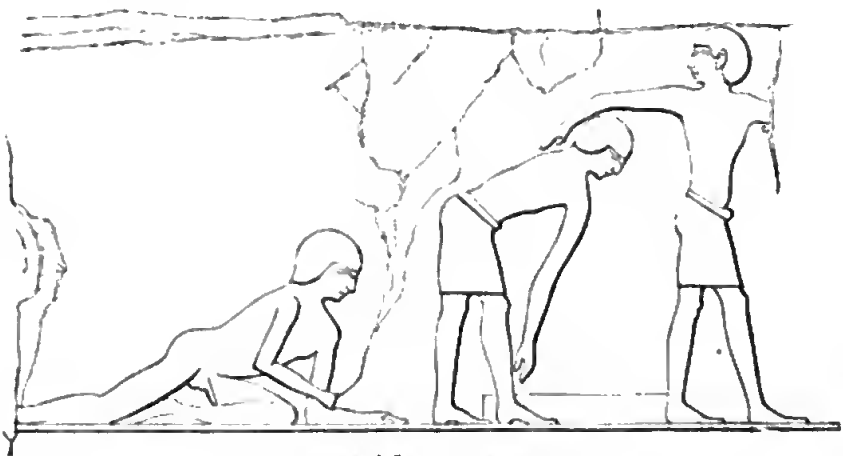


DANCERS. TOMB 16, SAKKARAH.

A yet higher class consisted of the chief officers and stewards over the estates of the princes, and the scribes or accountants of their wealth. These were, in a sense, posts of honour, often filled by the sons of the nobility. They were placed over each department of the great man's possessions. They invariably appear in the tombs at the head of each plane of the picture to the left from the entrance, which represents the stock-taking for the collection of the tythe. They were also allowed to stand before the prince, their master, while the ranks below them prostrated themselves on the ground in his presence. But this was, so far as appears, the extent of their privileges. They were slaves in the bitterest sense of the word, notwithstanding. They worked under taskmasters having unlimited power over them. They were thrown down and mercilessly beaten, before the prince to whom they belonged, upon frequent occasions and, therefore, for very slight offences. This indignity they also inflicted at their pleasure on those over whom they had authority; so that the slave became, in his

turn, the tyrant, and thus society was crystallized into one mass of tyranny, and slavery, and misery.

We have elsewhere explained that the arts of metallurgy, of pottery, of carpentry, of weaving, in a word, all the common crafts the presence or absence of which constitutes civilization or barbarism, were understood, and skilfully practised in primitive Egypt. The same wretched prescription, however, hemmed in these, together with all her other social institutions. The artizans were the slaves of the princes, and religion forbade, under the heaviest penalties, that the son should follow any other craft than that of the father. These wretched beings worked in gangs, under the merciless cudgels of taskmasters, who themselves were slaves. No single appliance to spare their labour or relieve them from suffering, appears in these reliefs. The braziers strike with hammers consisting merely of a pebble or a mass of metal. The field-labourers worked with hoes having handles so short, that the unhappy workmen were bent double in using them. The plasterers and polishers



TOMB (*above*, p. 303).

levigate the mortar or rub the hard wood with the bare unprotected palms of the hands. The women and the children work like the men, bearing heavy burdens, and, like them, are driven to their labour by the unsparing blows of the taskmasters. It is with these wretches, and with these alone, that the paintings of the tombs make us really familiar.

Thus are the maxims and dogmas, which we found codified on one of the recovered memorials of Old Egypt, amply illustrated on others of them, in their effects upon the tone of society; and the practice exactly reflects the theory. The first settler in Egypt was, notwithstanding his accomplishments, a slave to the fear of the supernatural. This impression, call it religion or superstition (the name is unimportant), assuredly was upon his spirit, and he grovelled in the dust beneath it. We have already collected many proofs of its existence. Here is another. In his abject, slavish terror of the gods, he fenced in what he conceived to be their privileges, with stringent and rigid laws. The baneful working of this principle is traceable throughout. The slave to the gods became, in his turn, the tyrant over his fellow-men. He exacted servitude from them with the same rigour with which (as his superstition prompted) the gods exacted service from him; and thus slavery became engrained in the very being of society in Old Egypt. It is ever thus. The tyrant is but the slave turned inside out. The saying is as wise as it is witty. It was the ever present dread of the supernatural in the first settlers in Egypt that laid slavery at the root of all their social institutions.

That the better principle of the rest of the code in some measure mitigated the slavery of Old Egypt we cannot doubt. But, notwithstanding, Egypt was then what Egypt is now, and, wonderful to add, what it ever has been during the long interval that separates the two epochs—the house of bondage of the human race.

The state of society amongst the higher ranks is much more feebly illustrated by the cotemporary documents of Old Egypt. The princes of Egypt employed themselves in the superintendence of their estates and of their flocks and herds. They were also boat-builders (*see Plate*), and seem to have carried on the common crafts of life by the hands of slaves, and for their own benefit. Their estates consisted of various plots of land, sometimes reclaimed by themselves, but more frequently by Pharaoh, and bearing his name.

It is not to be doubted that the princes of Egypt accompanied Pharaoh to the field, and shared with him the perils and the glories of the defence of the frontiers of the kingdom. Yet have we but very feeble direct evidence of it. A title or two in the tombs of Ghizeh is the only monumental proof we can bring of the fact. The cause of this silence is, however, not difficult to conjecture. It was in peaceable times only that these princes would be able to devote the time and property required for the excavation of these magnificent vaults. The many unadorned tombs and catacombs of all sizes that abound in Egypt, may, we conceive, be referred, with great probability, to eras of war and tumult which had exhausted the resources of all ranks in the community.

The chase was the favourite amusement of the princes of Old Egypt. The details of the many pictures of it in their tombs are so completely restored to the literature of Europe by the works of Rosellini* and Wilkinson,† that we have merely to refer to them, though it is much to be regretted that in neither of these valuable collections of copies are the localities in which the originals occur indicated with sufficient distinctness.

The number of birds and animals depicted, and their utter fearlessness of man, is a very remarkable feature in these pictures, plainly telling of a newly-settled country.

There was another peculiarity in the chase of Ancient Egypt, which seems to have escaped the notice of those who have treated upon the subject. The nobles of Egypt went to it accompanied by a large retinue, or *tinchel*, for the purpose of rousing and driving the game. We give a copy from the tomb of Ra-eses (Ghizeh), of the going forth of this retinue to the field (*see Plate*). It is a fine, spirited composition, evidently designed by the hand of an artist of no mean powers. The ropes, bars, &c., borne by individuals of the eager, rushing multitude, were for the purpose of enclosing the circle, and drawing the nets. The animals on the shoulders of some of the party were taken for the purpose of decoying by their cries the wild beasts into the toils.

There is another interesting feature in these ancient scenes of the chase which has also been hitherto un-

* Monumenti Civili. † Manners and Customs.

TOMB OF PEHNUK, 15, SAKKARAH



BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE - VITTORIO EMANUELE III - NAPOLI

GOING TO THE CHASE.

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noticed. *The domestication of animals was an experiment yet in process when these pictures were designed.* This appears abundantly in the tything scenes of nearly all the tombs of Ghizeh and Sakkarah. The antelopes, gazelles, and ibexes, each with its hieroglyphic name, which are either tethered in the presence of the owners, or led up with the leash, had all been caught wild, and were undergoing an attempt to reclaim them. This is also the case with the geese, cranes, and herons, which are often brought up to the prince in the arms of men or women, held carefully, and with the utmost attention to the comfort of the bird. All these had been caught alive in clap-nets, and were kept for the purpose of domestication. It does not appear that many birds had been tamed in Egypt in the times of the Old Kingdom. Flocks of geese and pigeons are not uncommon subjects in tombs executed in the times that followed; but they never occur in those of the primitive times. The goose and the pigeon were the only domestic birds known to the ancient Egyptians of any epoch. Herons are occasionally represented tame, and sitting at the prows of boats, on monuments of these early days. They had been trained for fishing, but were evidently merely young birds taken from the nest as in modern falconry. They were never domesticated.

The chase in Old Egypt was undertaken for the purpose, not of destroying the game, but of capturing it alive. Nets, and other equipments, for this purpose, were the only weapons employed, with the single exception of the *boomarang*, or throw-stick, which,

in all probability, was used with the intention merely of stunning the smaller birds. The game of every description was brought home alive from these hunting expeditions—the larger birds and animals, either on the shoulders of the attendant or led in the leash; the smaller in cages, with the evident intention of domesticating them. The first example of the use of the bow and arrow in the chase will, we believe, be found in the tomb of Nahrai, which is one of the latest and last of the monuments of the succeeding era.

The tombs themselves were the fruit of a remarkable superstition, which the first settlers in the valley brought along with them. The pyramids arose in obedience to the same sentiment. Fully acknowledging the immortality of the soul, the inventors of the idolatry of Egypt debased this doctrine by teaching that it was closely linked with, and contingent upon, the indestructibility of the lifeless body.

The process of mummification, as we know it either from the Greek authors, or from actual remains, forms no part of the history of Old Egypt. The account of the process, by Herodotus, is that which was in use when he visited Egypt. No mummy of the times of the Old Kingdom has yet been discovered. It is very doubtful that any are in existence.

The few fragments of bones that accompanied the coffin of MENCHERES in the third pyramid were supposed to be parts of his mummy. Woollen rags were also found in the same heap; and thence it was assumed that in these times the dead were swathed in woollen

cloth. But flax was grown in Egypt before the times of MENCHERES. The gathering of it is a common subject in the tombs of the reign of SUPHIS; a circumstance which certainly tends to throw considerable doubt upon the genuine antiquity of both the bones and rags.

The earliest mummy known to exist is that in the Leeds Museum, which is of the times of RAMSES IX. of the New Kingdom, 1100 B.C. The process by which it was embalmed was altogether different from that described by Herodotus. The dead seem also to have been embalmed in some way at the earliest periods. The wooden mummy case, *klos* (Coptic, KA, "to swathe"), is commended to the vigilance of Anubis, the god impersonate in the black jackal, in a formula which is repeated over the doorways of all the tombs in the cemetery of Memphis.* Wherein this ancient embalming differed from that afterwards in use we know not. It was certainly far less efficacious. All the bodies and their cases have rotted to black dust, which now covers the floors of their sepulchres. Whereas, in the same vaults, objects just as perishable as mummies, embalmed after the later process, are perfectly preserved.

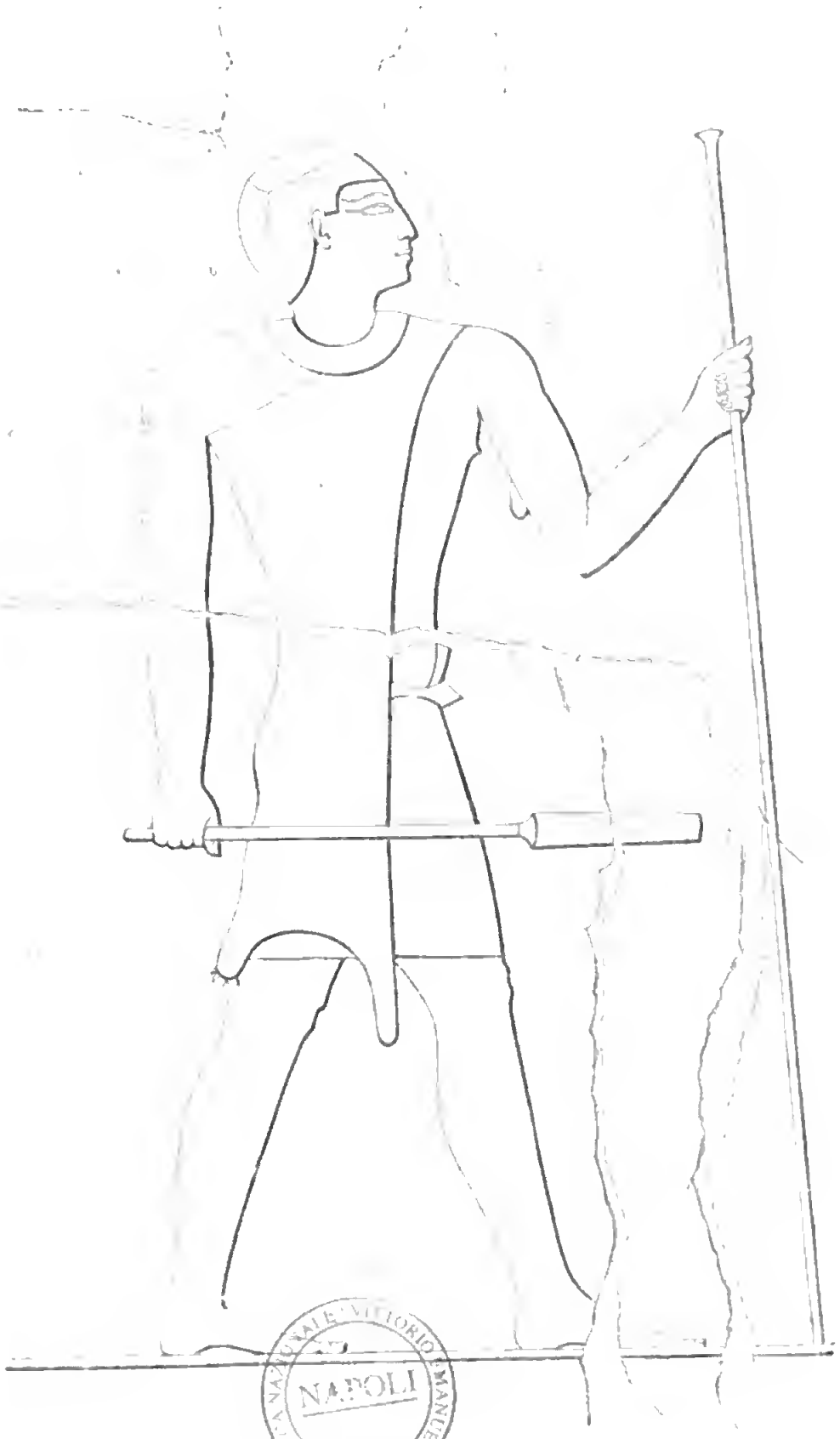
The interiors of these tombs have all been decorated after one unvarying plan. So strictly uniform are they in their original design, that no deviation from it is known to exist in any of the cemeteries of Egypt; a still further illustration of the rigid prescription

* See the copy of this dedication from the tomb of the prince Mourhet (*above*, plate i., p. 24).

by which all things were directed in this most ancient kingdom.

On the wall of the tomb to the left from the entrance, are depicted on different planes the various sources of revenue of the excavator. These are undergoing his inspection for the purpose of being valued for the tythe of all which was to be devoted to religion. The chase, the vintage, the harvest, the prisoners of war, the boats, the slaves and the produce of their callings, the lands and their produce, all are there. They are brought into the presence of the great man, laid down before him, and recorded by his scribes, who occupy themselves in valuing them. The same subjects cover the halves of the end walls to the left of the entrance. The walls to the right are adorned with paintings or reliefs, representing the feast of dedication of the tomb, and the preparations for it. The butchers, cooks, and other menials, are at work immediately to the right of the doorway. The right hand wall is a picture of the banquet itself. The founder of the tomb, accompanied by his wife, is seated at table, and waited upon by the sons and daughters. Over the table is a bill of fare, containing the enumeration of the various dishes, wines, &c., to be served. They amount to between eighty and ninety in the tombs of Ghizeh. The right portion of the wall opposite the entrance is covered with the pictures of singers, musicians, dancers, posturers, and other artists of this class, whose performances were proceeding while the prince was seated at the banquet.

We might be still more particular in our specificatiou



BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VITTORIO EMANUELE III
NAPOLI

PRINCE [illegible]ENES' IN YOUTH

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of the place in the tomb occupied by each of the subjects depicted in it. All was precedent and prescription, both in the subjects themselves of these wonderful paintings, and in the arrangement of them.

The tything, depicted on the left hand wall, was for the construction and maintenance of the tomb. The charges upon the lands of the nobles of Egypt for this purpose must have been very heavy. A monthly and semi-monthly festival seems to have been the lowest limit permitted by religion, as these are ordered in the inscriptions over the doorways of all the tombs, which are in fact their calendars.

It seems probable that the whole family assembled on certain of these occasions, and feasted in the banquet hall, or in the temples attached to the pyramids. To prepare a tomb was the work of a man's life; to complete one occupied many generations. They began them immediately on entering upon their estates; and the work was cut short by their death, to be carried on by their successors; for it is hard to say that any one of them was ever finished.

It is no part of our design to make the graphic decorations of these tombs serve the purpose of mere embellishment. We gladly avail ourselves, nevertheless, of the modern facilities for their reproduction, to give one or two of the more interesting and instructive of these most ancient of all pictures. We have chosen those which best illustrate their meaning, and most clearly exhibit the state of the arts of design in primitive Egypt.

The length of time employed in the decoration of

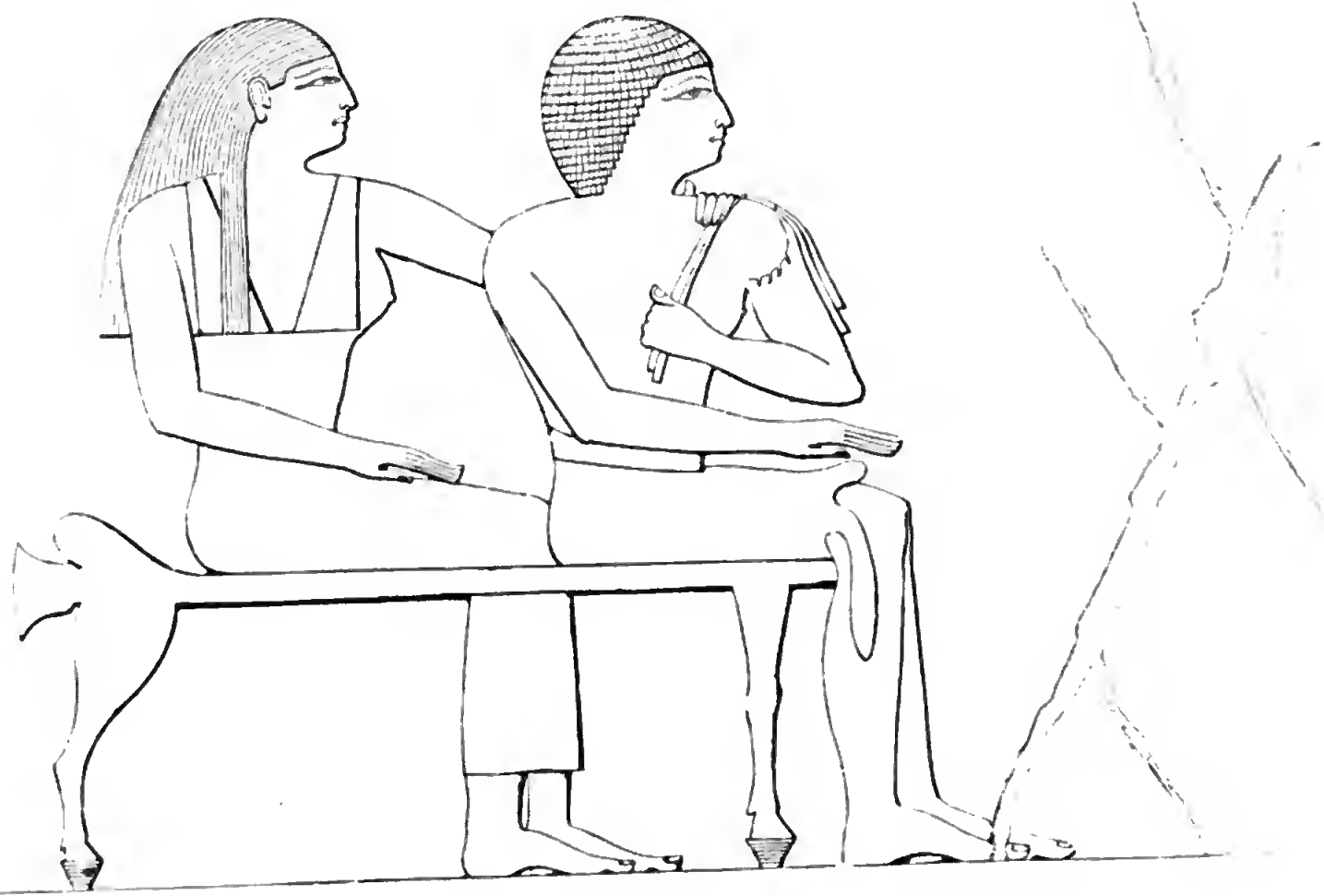
these tombs is curiously illustrated in that of the prince Chephrenes.* In some parts of this beautifully-sculptured vault, Chephrenes appears as a young man (*see Plate*). Two sons accompany him when thus represented. He was at this time the father of two children only.

In another part of the tomb, Chephrenes is seated upon a divan or sofa, with his wife, who was a Heliopolitan princess, named *Hanku* (*see Plate*). Eight sons and four daughters are in attendance upon their parents in this picture, which strikingly illustrates both the perfection and miserable defects of Egyptian art.

There is yet another representation of the prince Chephrenes. He is still holding the symbols of his rank and office, and superintending the valuation of his properties. But he is once more alone. His youngest son and daughter, who were children in the former picture, are here full grown, and his only attendants, and the person and features of the prince, exhibit conspicuously the marks of advanced age. The wrinkled appearance of the chest is its never-failing adjunct in all countries where this part of the person is uncovered (*see Plate*). This was the device by which the artist commemorated the fact that the tomb he was decorating had been the work of the whole life of its illustrious founder.

All the details of these most ancient pictures have meanings, and are designed to record existing facts. They are not compositions for graphic effect, but catalogues of properties and their owners, or bills of fare of prescribed religious banquets, of the guests privileged

* Lep. 75, Ghizeh.



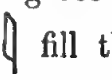
BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE III" NAPOLI

PRINCE CEPHRENES IN MIDDLE LIFE, AND THE PRINCESS HANKU HIS WIFE.

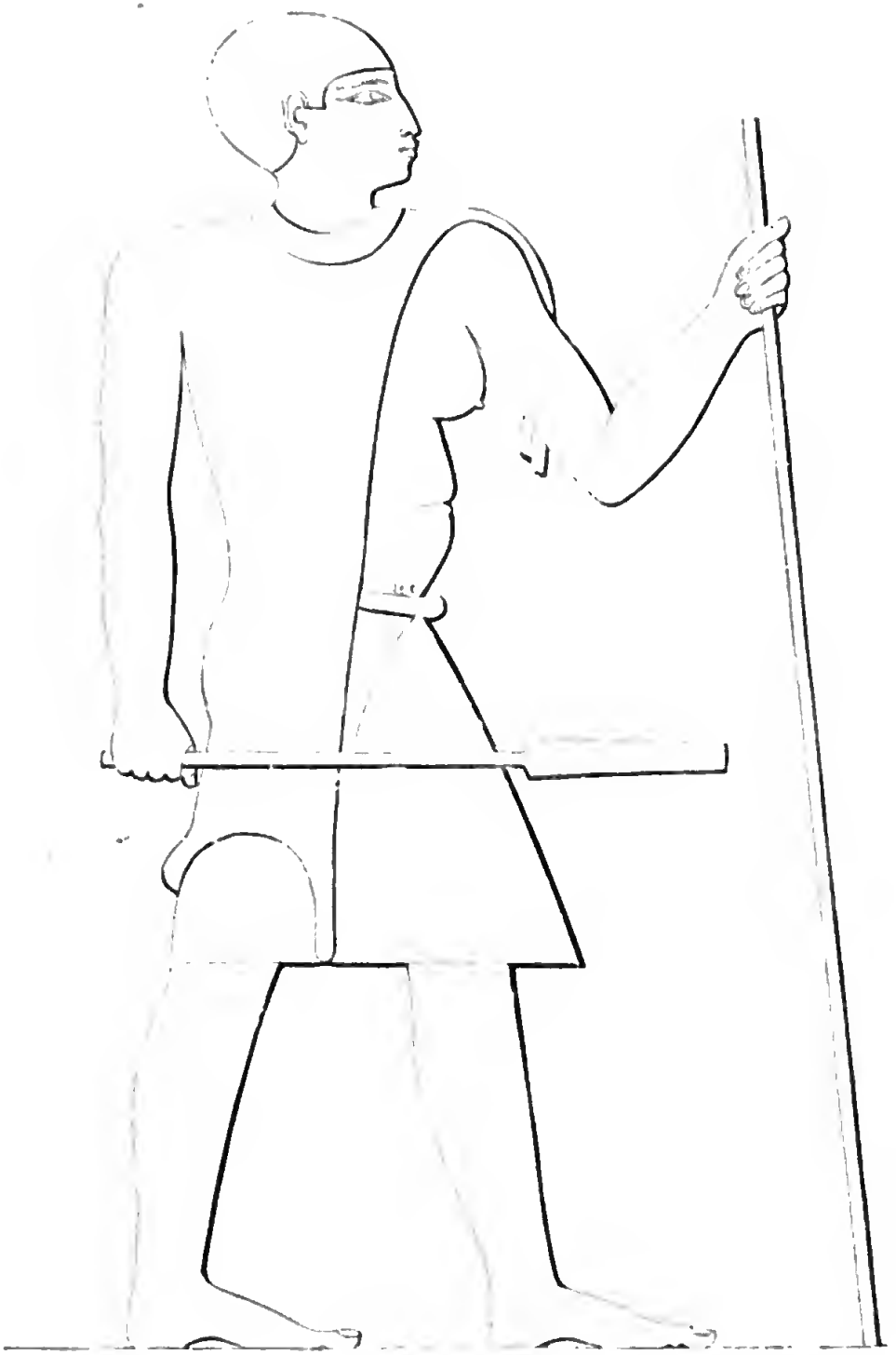
to partake of them, and of the order to be observed in their service. Every particular on them, therefore, conveys some fact, and requires to be carefully noted.

When the chamber of Karnak was before us, we took occasion to mention that all Egyptian pictures are arranged in horizontal planes, and that the principal actor and action to be represented are embodied in a figure or figures facing the planes. These figures are often colossal, and extend through the whole of the planes in the picture. In other instances, as in the chamber of Karnak, two such figures, the one above the other, face the planes. In this case, the planes grouped before each figure always contain objects different in kind; so that some important division of the whole picture is denoted by the arrangement.

In the tything scenes of the tombs, the principal figure facing the planes is always the constructer of the vault. It is a portrait, and tall enough to fill the height of the whole picture. When the constructer stands alone, the properties on all the planes before him are his patrimony. When his mother stands by him, they are his maternal inheritance. When he is accompanied by his wife, her dower is represented in the planes upon which they are looking. The children, also, occasionally grouped with one or both parents, had, in like manner, vested interests in the properties before them. In other tombs, brothers of the excavator are represented either along with him, or in a separate picture. In this case also the persons so depicted have joint interests in the properties, and the right of sepulture in the tomb.

In the tything scene in the tomb of the prince Chephrenes the cattle possessed by him are enumerated.* The walls to the left of the entrance, as usual, are covered with the picture of this ceremony. The gigantic figures of Chephrenes and his brother Athothis  fill the entire height of the picture. They stand in majestic and commanding attitudes, invested with their official robes, while the sons of Chephrenes lay before them lists of their properties, recorded on rolls of papyrus and tablets. The picture itself in front of them is in six horizontal planes. In the uppermost plane a fleet of Nile-boats is bringing in the produce of some distant estates. The plane immediately below represents the treading of the corn brought by the boats, by means of a herd of asses (*see Plate*); the corn is then sifted, and stored in garners, or matadores, such as are to this day in use in Italy and Greece. In the third plane is the timber brought by the boats, which is counted, and piled in heaps. For the sake of perspicuity, a scene representing the servants of Chephrenes, engaged in cutting down trees, and superintended by their master, is introduced at the end of this plane. One of the slaves, in the act of drinking, denotes the arduous nature of the labour in which they are engaged. That all these three columns refer to the boats and their cargoes, is denoted by the figure of the son of Chephrenes, who, having the charge of them, opens the papyrus roll which contains their enumeration, for the inspection of

* It is the "tomb of numbers" of the Overlanders.



BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE III" NAPOLI

PRINCE CEPHRENES IN ADVANCED AGE.

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his father. It is gigantic, and extends through all the three planes.

The three lowermost planes, in like manner, embody one subject only, which is the fowling and fishing of the Nile, and the flocks and herds of the family. The wild fowl are taken by the clap net. The hauling of the seine net occupies all the three columns. Doubtless, the fishery was a valuable property.

The live stock of Chephrenes consisted of 835 horned cattle, 220 hornless cattle, 2235 goats, 760 asses, and 974 sheep. Four scribes record these properties at the commencement of the fourth plane.

The estates of the family of Chephrenes were situated at some distance from the place of their residence. They were represented in another compartment, which (like many other reliefs in this magnificent tomb) has been defaced, with the exception of one or two figures.

This is one of the tombs which are hewn in the living rock on the eastern declivity of the platform of the pyramids. It is, as we have explained, in *cavo relievo*. Its designs are, certainly, not inferior in execution and artistic skill to the many gorgeous compositions in colour that adorn the tombs around it.

The most precious possessions of the excavator of the tomb were always recorded in the uppermost planes of the picture of the tything.

The dower of the princess Hanku, the wife of Chephrenes, is, for this reason, depicted in the uppermost plane. For the same reason, the arch-prince *Astaku*,* who executed the office of "Superintendent of the Vine

* Lep. 86, Ghizeh, Abt. ii., bl. 13.

Props in the Royal Vineyards," has filled these uppermost planes with pictures of the various processes of making wine. In the tombs of those chiefs or princes whose official duties were in any way connected with books or writing, these planes are occupied by scribes in the exercise of their vocation, and with the books they have written before them in chests. This is the case with the prince Mourhet,* with the priest and prince *Sashf-otp* † ("seven-fold," probably alluding to the seven-fold girdle of the priests, which, as we have seen, is mentioned in the negative confession), with the prince *Rankui*‡ ("fair in person"), and with many others. This arrangement affords a remarkable proof of the honour and esteem which writing and books enjoyed in these remote ages of the world.

The enumeration of the landed estates of the excavator of the tomb is likewise a subject that always occupies a high plane in the picture. The estates are singularly but somewhat significantly set forth by slaves bearing baskets on their heads filled with the produce of these lands. In the tomb of prince Mourhet it is thus signified that he was the possessor of sixteen estates, nine of them being his patrimony, or personal acquisition, seven of them his maternal inheritance. The former fact is denoted by nine of the slaves facing the right of the picture, where Mourhet stands alone; the latter by the remaining seven, who face in the opposite direction, where Mourhet is again represented,

* No. 24, Ghizeh, Abt. ii., bl. 19.

† No. 36, Ghizeh, Abt. ii., bl. 24.

‡ No. 87, Ghizeh, Abt. ii., bl. 15.



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BIBLIOTECA VITTORIO EMANUELE TORINO

LANDS OF PRINCE MOURHET.



GROUP OF ASSES. FROM TOMB 75, GHIZEH.



COWS DRINKING. FROM TOMB 86, GHIZEH.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE ROMA

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accompanied by his mother (*see Plate*). Our plate is a copy of the uppermost line of this interesting picture. All the plots of land enumerated in it were reclaimed by SUPHIS. The three, the bearers of which face to the right, were of the patrimony of Mourhet; the remaining three were his maternal inheritance.* The landed possessions of others of the princes of Egypt must likewise have been very considerable. The high-priest Pehnuk was the possessor of at least forty-four estates (15, Sakkarah). The prince Rankui was the possessor of fifteen estates (87, Ghizeh), the prince *Semnufe* of ten (45, Ghizeh). Many estates are also registered in other tombs.

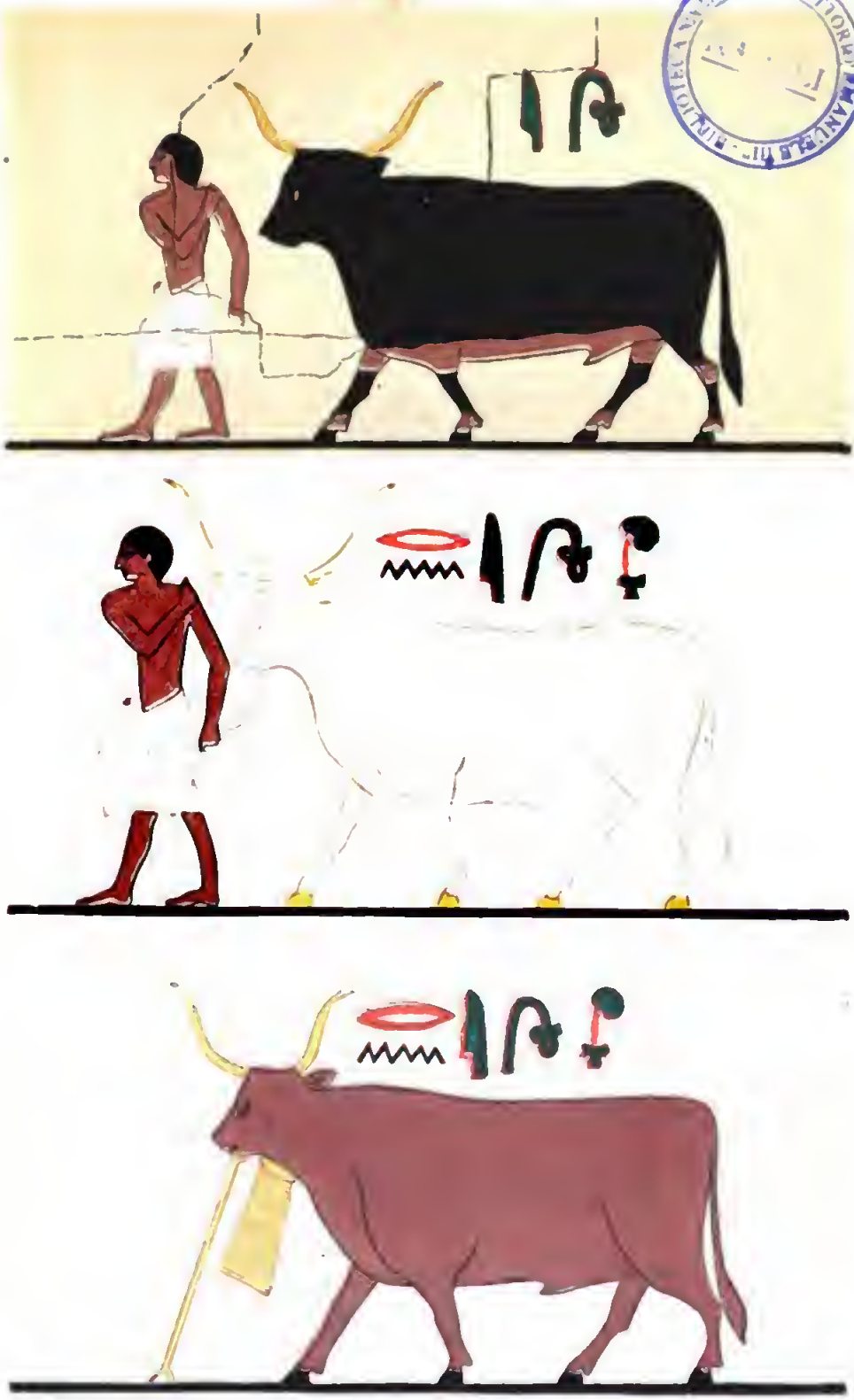
The districts reclaimed by the great engineering works of the kings were always named after them. The ancient Pharaohs, concerning whom we have this monumental evidence that they brought into cultivation the waste lands of Egypt, are, CECHOUS and RAOPHIS, of the 2nd dynasty; SORIS, SUPHIS, NOH-SUPHIS, NEPHERCHERES, and SESOCHRIS, of the 4th; USERCHERES and SEPHRES, of the 5th; and ONNOS of the 6th.

Flocks and herds were possessions highly valued in these remote ages, and for which Egypt was always celebrated. The representation of these immediately follows that of the landed property; in some cases it precedes it. The domesticated animals of this remote age appear from the tombs to have consisted of two

* The basket-bearers are invariably male and female, alternately, in all these representations of the bringing of the produce of the lands; partly, doubtless, for the sake of graphic effect, but partly, also, for the purpose of showing that the women, as well as men, were driven in gangs to field labour.

breeds of great cattle, the one horned, the other hornless; asses, sheep, goats, and dogs, of one breed only. The horned cattle seem to have been the most abundant. The principal part of every herd in the tombs consisted of these. They appear to have paid especial attention to the improvement of the breed. The colour also was an object of great solicitude with them, as the value of the animal greatly depended on it. The accompanying plate represents three of the fat cattle of the prince Agathodemon, which, as being of singular beauty, were brought for his inspection before being slaughtered for the funeral banquet (*see Plate*). In symmetry of form no English grazier of this day need be ashamed of them. The colour of the uppermost ox, which is black, with regular stripes of tan colour underneath and on his legs, was in very high esteem in Ancient Egypt. The bull Apis was so marked. It is on this account that he occupies the post of honour at the top of the picture. This variation in colour was evidently of rare occurrence. This was the only one in the herd of Agathodemon, a fact which is denoted by the hieroglyphics over it, which read *eō*, "an ox," only, without the indefinite *sho*, "a thousand," "a multitude," which qualifies the other two pictures.

The colour next in esteem for cattle appears here as elsewhere to have been white. The white ox has for this reason an attendant, whereas the tan-coloured one below him is merely tethered. Of both these, however, Agathodemon had a large stock, as the hieroglyphics over them inform us. The inscription reads *rn-eō-shō*, "plenty of tame" (trained) "cattle" [such as this] is understood.



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FAT CATTLE OF PRINCE MOURHET.

The ass was kept in droves, and used in Old Egypt as a beast of burden, and to tread out the corn. Of the latter use of this animal we have just cited an example.* It was the only beast of burden known in Egypt in these remote eras. The horse makes his first appearance in the reliefs of a succeeding epoch.

Sheep and goats were (if the testimony of the tombs is to be received) very rare in Old Egypt. The princes Eimei and Chephrenes alone of all the nobles of the era of the pyramids were possessed of flocks of them. So little is Egypt adapted for the pasturage of either of them, that we suspect it was in the Sinaitic Peninsula that they were kept.

The dog of Old Egypt was a long-bodied, long-legged, ungainly creature. He is constantly represented attending upon his master. He was also employed in hunting the gazelles and antelopes of the desert. The single breed, which appears on the monuments of the Old Kingdom, multiplies in many forms on those of a later date.

The artists of these ancient tombs occasionally contrived to represent two different actions in the same picture. The device is often exemplified in the planes where are cattle in this scene of the tything. The counting of the cattle took place in the presence of the owner himself, as well as the valuation. The former process is depicted on the side opposite to that where the owner stands to assess his property. It afforded some little scope for the imagination of the

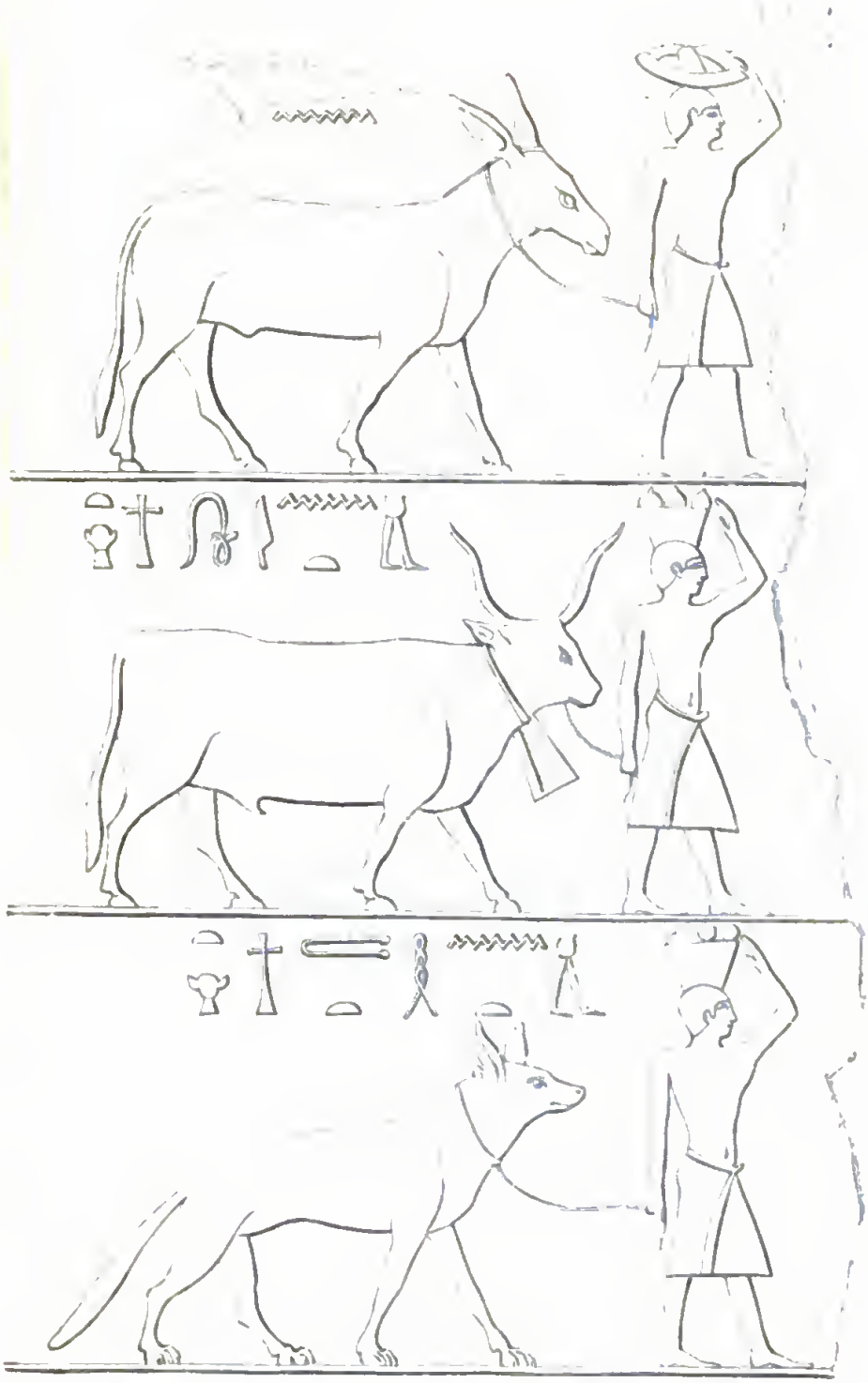
* *Above*, p. 452.

artist in the positions of the cattle. In the accompanying plate, the prince Astaku has ascended one of the canals of irrigation in a raft of papyrus reeds, towed by a slave, for the purpose of counting his horned cattle that are drinking at it.

The counting of the cattle is called *na-hi-tho*, "the bringing forward" (*en face*), as appears in the accompanying example from the tomb of prince Rankui.* In this fragment, an ass, an ox, and a hyena, are led by attendants. The hieroglyphic name of the hyena is inscribed above his picture. It reads, *na ht hi-tho*, "the bringing forward of the  *ht*," the consonants of the Coptic word ϩⲟⲓⲧⲉ, "a hyena." There cannot be a doubt that this animal was, to some considerable extent, domesticated in Egypt in these remote times. He is frequently depicted led in the leash, as in the present instance. For what purpose the most ferocious, and, to our apprehensions, impracticable, of the brute creation was thus reclaimed, it is hard to say. The tombs give no hint as to his use. Most likely he was set as a guard over the cattle-pens. He would, doubtless, be efficient in driving off from them his own congeners, and also the wolves, jackals, and foxes, with which Egypt abounds, were he susceptible of the requisite training, which from these designs we infer to be actually the case.

The trades and crafts exercised by the slaves of the prince are generally on the lowest planes of this great picture. Boat-building is most frequently represented

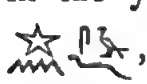
* 87, Ghizeh.



BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VITTORIO EMANUELE III
NAPOLI

LIVE STOCK OF PRINCE RANKU[illegible]

on the walls immediately adjoining the doorway to the left. There are, of course, exceptions; but we believe, nevertheless, that we have correctly indicated the *normal places* in the tomb, both of these and of the other subjects we have mentioned.

The mode in which the lapse of time was measured by the appearances of the heavenly bodies in primitive Egypt, may be inferred from the calendars of these tombs, written, as we have said, over their doorways. If these monuments, and not the lying tradition of the Alexandrians, are to be heard on the question, the Mizraites had at this time made no observations of their own upon which to construct their calendar, but merely worked upon two traditions, which they had brought with them on first colonizing the valley. One of them was, that twelve lunations corresponded proximately to one solar revolution. Twelve lunations, however, are but 354 days, whereas, the solar year is upwards of 365 days. Their other tradition, in a measure, corrected this error. It taught them that the moon, after they had seen the star Sothis (Syrius, the dog-star) rise cosmically, that is, just about sunset, ought to be the first moon in the year. On this account the star was named , "the star of *sot*," the "tail," "end of the year"* (Coptic CAT, "tail"). The Greeks wrote it Σωθις. By this means every third year at least would consist of 13 moons. This 13th moon was named , "the month of Sothis."

* It is wonderful that Lepsius did not perceive this.

Their division of time was altogether lunar, and regulated by phases of the moon directly observed. The year began with the full moon . It was called "the full moon of Thoth," because on the first full moon in every year was the festival of Thoth, at Hermopolis, in the Delta.* Their next observed period was that of the first appearance of the crescent of the following moon, ; their third and last was that of the night of the half-moon . In this triple division of the month originated their decadal week of 10 suns or days , 10 being the round number that approximated the nearest to the length of each of these three intervals. It was a most imperfect system, liable to errors of every kind, and from all quarters. No wonder that the dates computed upon it are as vague as we have found those of primitive Egypt to be.

The only instruction to be derived from its explanation is, that the first settlers knew that the heavenly bodies were designed to "be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years." The only proof we can find in it of the wisdom of its framers is, that they readily rejected it, and condescended to learn a far better and more practical mode of dividing time from the patriarch Abram.

The nature of the changes introduced by him into the calendar of Egypt belongs to the following epoch.

Thus have we recovered from these coeval remains the details of the history of Egypt from its first settle-

* This was the circumstance that afterwards made Thoth a god of the moon.

TOMB 24, GHIZEH.



BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE

ment to the visit of the patriarch Abram. This is in itself a circumstance sufficiently extraordinary and unexpected. Yet, in addition, many particulars concerning the outer and inner life of the men that then lived upon the earth are also recorded on the same memorials, whereby their domestic habits, their social institutions, their very modes of thought, are disclosed to us; and so minutely, that we know more of the men among whom Abram dwelt and conversed in Egypt, than of our own British and Saxon ancestors.



END OF VOL. I.

